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THE LIVES OF THE POPES

VOL. VIII.

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Plan of the Leonine City, after Schedel of Nuremberg (1493).

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THE
LIVES OF THE POPES
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper existunt" (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D.* 747-752, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289).

HEAD MASTER OF ST. CUTHBERT'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY OF SPAIN

THE POPES OF THE GREGORIAN RENAISSANCE

ST LEO IX. TO HONORIUS II.

1049-1130

VOL. VIII.—1099-1139.

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To

HIS ALMA MATER

ST CUTHBERT'S COLLEGE, USHAW

THIS VOLUME

Is respectfully Dedicated

BY

A GRATEFUL SON

116628

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A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Jaffé, or Regesta . .	=	*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.
Labbe	=	*Sacrosancta Concilia*, ed. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.
L. P., *Anastasius*, or the *Book of the Popes*	=	*Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886.
M. G. H., or Pertz .	=	*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, either *Scriptores* (M. G. SS.) or *Epistolæ* (M. G. Epp.) or *Poetæ* (M. G. PP.).
P. G.	=	*Patrologia Græca*, ed. Migne, Paris.
P. L.	=	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, Paris.
R. I. SS. . . .	=	*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff.
R. S., following an edition of a book	=	The edition of the Chronicles, etc., published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and date are placed.

The sign * placed before the title of a book indicates that the author of these volumes has seen the book in question well spoken of, but has not had the opportunity of examining it himself.

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PASCHAL II.

A.D. 1099–1118.

THERE are extant two more or less contemporary biographies of Paschal. That in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Peter William was written by one the initial of whose name was *P.* According to Duchesne,[1] who appears to have proved his contention, the author of this *Life* of Paschal was Pandulf, who also wrote the *Lives* of his three immediate successors, Gelasius II., Calixtus II., and Honorius II. Pandulf was a nephew of Cardinal Hugh of Alatri, and when he wrote the *Life* of Paschal was an officer in the papal guards. He became a cleric under Gelasius II., and about 1135 was made a cardinal by the antipope Anacletus II., the rival of Innocent II. It was in the interests of his patron Anacletus that he wrote the *Lives* of the four predecessors of Innocent II.; and of that fact they all bear traces.

These biographies of Pandulf, to which it is possible he may himself have prefixed the catalogue we find in the production of Peter William, came into the hands of that industrious monk. To the work of Pandulf he added certain items that concerned his own monastery or neighbourhood. This he did in the year 1143.[2] He also amended what he observed in the *Lives* of

[1] *L. P.*, ii. p. xxxiii. Watterich thinks the *P.* refers to Cardinal Peter of Pisa (†1144); but Duchesne shows that the same nervous style, with the same imitations of the classics, is observable in all the four biographies. Now it is agreed that Cardinal Pandulf wrote the last three; hence there can be little doubt that he also wrote the fourth.

[2] *Cf.* vol. iii. p. 231 of this work. The biography of Pandulf may be read in the *L. P.*, ii. p. 296, or in Watterich, ii.

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Gelasius, etc., to be too favourable to Anacletus, and changed what did not seem to accord with the dignity of Innocent II.

The second biography of which we spoke above is the work of Cardinal Boso (†*c.* 1178), probably an Englishman, and certainly the friend of Hadrian IV. His *Life*, however, consists only of a collection of documents. It may be read ap. *L. P.*, ii. p. 369 ff.

The *Annales Romani*[1] again reappear for the years 1111 and 1116–1121. Falco of Benevento (1077–1140), sometime notary apostolic at Benevento (1133–1137), wrote an accurate chronicle treating of the affairs of the Papacy with special reference to Benevento. As we have it, it is somewhat mutilated; and though it commences with the year 1102, it is very brief till it reaches 1112. It closes with the year 1140. The edition in the *P. L.*, t. 173, repeats that of Muratori, *R. I. SS.*, t. v.

Much that is of value for the *Life* of Paschal will be found in the admirable biography or panegyric of Louis VI., the Fat,[2] king of France, by the great statesman, Abbot Suger.[3] Born of humble parents about 1081, he became abbot of the famous monastery of St. Denis in 1122, the counsellor of Louis VI. and Louis VII., and their ambassador to Popes Gelasius II. and Calixtus II. He died in 1151. His epitaph tells how, through him, the king (Louis VII.) ruled his kingdom well, and how, through his ruling the king, he might be called the king of the king.[4] He has been truly called "one of the noblest figures of the twelfth century.[5]

The "investiture quarrel," and especially the weak act of Paschal in yielding the right of investiture to the treacherous Henry V. (1111), evoked various writings on the claims of Popes and emperors, and on the dishonourable deed of Henry, which wrung the concession from Paschal. Of these we shall only note three, all to be found ap. *Mon. Germ. Libell.*, ii. The first,

[1] *Cf. supra*, v. 238.

[2] Ed. A. Molinier, Paris, 1887; or along with the other works of Suger, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1867; or *P. L.*, t. 186.

[3] See *L'abbé Suger*, by F. Combes, Paris, 1853.

[4] "Rex per eum caute rexit moderamina regni,
Ille regens regem rex quasi regis erat."
Ap. Lecoy de la Marche, p. 422.

[5] G. Masson, *Early Chroniclers of Europe—France*, p. 56.

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Disputatio vel defensio Paschalis, written seemingly by a Frenchman of good literary and social standing, and in the year 1112, was intended to prove that, if Paschal did not stand by the oath he had taken to Henry, he was unworthy of his position. The famous Hildebert of Le Mans wrote various short pamphlets to excuse the conduct of Paschal in 1111. The author of the *Rythmus de captivitate Paschalis* seems to have been an Italian who saw the miseries which the Germans inflicted on the Pope and on Rome, and who wrote between February 12 and April 12, 1111.

With the exception of a few fragments, the Register of Paschal has perished; but in the *P. L.*, t. 163, there may be found 586 of his letters, and a number of letters written to him by others. Most of the *letters* are privileges granted to monasteries in every country of Europe, from Denmark in the North[1] to Spain in the South, and to Poland[2] in the East.

Modern Works.—Montalembert's account of Paschal is written with even more than his usual eloquence and attractiveness. The relations between Paschal and Philip of France are well treated by B. Monod (*Essai sur les rapports de Paschal II. avec Philippe I^er^*, Paris, 1907); though his point of view is not always in accordance with our own. The same young and gifted author had previously written a pamphlet bearing on the same subject, viz., *L'élection épiscopale de Beauvais de* 1100 *à* 1104, Paris. This he incorporated

[1] Ep. 531. At the request of King Nicholas (Niels) Svendson, Paschal grants privileges to the monastery of Odense (Fyen). Those monasteries which were granted exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, and which were directly subjected to the Roman Pontiff, had to pay, "as a sign of this freedom" (ep. 83), a small tax. From the privileges of Paschal it appears that the ordinary tax was one *aureus* (£1) per annum, though sometimes it was under 12 denarii, or 1 solidus, of which at this period 20 went to the aureus. Reckoning 20 aurei to the ounce of gold (*Greg. VII.*, ep. vii. 24), I find that 37 monasteries paid Pope Paschal somewhat over 91 aurei "as a mark of the freedom they had obtained from the Roman Church" (ep. 82). It cannot be called a large sum, but of course many of his privileges have not come down to us, and, in any case, he would not probably be called upon to confirm all the exemptions granted by his predecessors; so that it must not be supposed that £91 represents the Pope's entire revenue from this source.

[2] Ep. 193.

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in his *Essai*. His point of view may be accurately estimated from the closing words of the pamphlet just mentioned: "Ces querelles, ces conflits épiscopaux ne sont, en somme, qu'un des côtes de la lutte par laquelle Philippe maintenait et sauvegardait contre la papauté, qui voulait les usurper, ses droits de souverain et de suzerain sur son clergé français."

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	EMPERORS OF THE EAST.
Henry IV., 1056–1106.	Philip I., 1060–1108.	William II. (Rufus), 1087–1100.	Alexius I. (Comnenus), 1081–1118.
Henry V., 1106–1125.	Louis VI., 1108–1137.	Henry I. (Beauclerc), 1100–1135.	

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CHAPTER I.

THE NEW POPE. HIS EARLY CAREER AND CONSECRATION AS POPE.

THE successor of Urban II. was also a "golden Pope," but of a more malleable variety than his predecessor. Of noble birth[1] and pious, learned and a promoter of learning,[2] and, though poor,[3] free from avarice,[4] he was "an honour to the Church," and, in many ways, "a beautiful model for posterity." How much this "father of the widow and the orphan" did for the needy among both the clergy and laity is told us by Pandulf towards the begin- The new Pope.

[1] "Nobilitate tui generis nimis es specialis,
Moribus et vita magis es quam pontificalis."

Verses of Paschal's contemporary, Cardinal Milo, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 28.

[2] *L. P.*, "Philosophantium artibus eruditus." *Cf.* ep. 217, "Bonis scholarum studiis non tantum favere, sed ad hoc eorum animos etiam incitare debemus, qui pro nostro officio eorum salute prospicimus." Learning and religion are necessarily connected in the Pope's mind.

[3] Ep. 59. Writing to Archbishop Anselm about Peter's Pence among other things, he says: "Scis enim quantis inopiæ circumvallemur angustiis."

[4] Hence Suger notes his un-Roman-like indifference to money, when he not only did not covet, but did not deign even to look at the wealth of the abbey of St. Denis when he visited it. "Hoc unum memorabile et *Romanis insolitum* et posteris reliquit exemplum, quod nec aurum nec argentum . . . non tantum non affectabat sed nec respicere dignabatur." *Vit. Lud. VI.*, c. 9. The chapter of York declared to the Pope that they had found that nothing could be obtained from him, "but what was just and in accordance with canon law." "Pro hac igitur integritate veritatis et justitiæ, Francia, Normannia, Anglia nomen vestrum prædicant et benedicunt." See their letter ap. Hugh the Chantor *in vit. Turstini*, ap. *Historians of York*, ii. p. 147, *R.S.* Hence Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 317, speaks of his being *unjustly* accused of simony.

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ning of his biography of Pope Gelasius. In subordinate positions he had proved himself equal to the charges that had been put upon him; and, no doubt, had his lot as Pope fallen on quieter times, he would, as far as mortal can, have fulfilled with credit to himself, and advantage to the Church, the onerous duties that devolve upon its head. But he was no match for such a cunning, strong, and unscrupulous monarch as Henry V. Violence and the clash of steel, which did but put fire into the brave heart of Hildebrand, unnerved the "gentle-natured monk."[1] Paschal was, however, no coward. He proved it, as we shall see, by both word and deed. But dread of possible disastrous consequences to those around him unmanned him. Fear for the lives of others led him to concede what no thought of danger to himself would ever have wrung from him. He was a man in whom the kindlier and more winning qualities of our human nature were more conspicuous than those firmer and stronger ones with which, to some extent at least, a ruler must at all times be endowed. He was too prone, it would seem, to lean to the side of mercy and forgiveness. At any rate, that was the opinion of some of his contemporaries. Begging him not to be angry at his speaking to him as a son to his father, Ivo of Chartres wrote to tell him:[2] "There are many good men who, seeing you have pardoned or condoned the faults of many, have either taken refuge in silence or have lost all hope of correcting vice."

To carry out a programme of universal reform in the midst of tyrannical German emperors, of antipopes, of a largely recalcitrant clergy, and of unruly subjects in Rome, there was need of a succession of Hildebrands. But if Paschal was not a Hildebrand, he could and did follow in his footsteps, and his reign saw the beginning of that emancipation

[1] Gregorovius, *l.c.*, p. 319. [2] Ep. 89.

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of the Church from the State which Gregory had striven so hard to effect. That clear-sighted Pontiff had condemned investitures because he perceived that they were the strongest fetters that held the Church in bondage. Paschal saw them given up by Robert II., count of Flanders,[1] and by the king of Hungary;[2] and, what was more important, the compromise on the subject worked out between St. Anselm and Henry I. of England, to which he agreed, pointed out the way by which the terrible controversy was to be ended by the concordat of Worms (1122).

Paschal before he became Pope.

Rainerius, the future Paschal II., the son of Crescentius and Alfatia, was born in the village of Blera, situated in the mountainous district of Galeata, in the upper valley of the Ronco, south of Faenza.[3] He was offered to a monastery whilst still a boy. It is generally said that the monastery was Cluny; but according to Ordericus[4] it was the well-known woody Vallombrosa, near Florence. At

[1] See the letter (iv. 13) of St. Anselm of Canterbury to the count. The saint congratulates him on his action, telling him that in so doing he is obeying God and not man, and showing himself a true Christian and one of the sheep commended to St. Peter, who holds the keys of the kingdom of heaven. "Certain it is that he who does not obey the commands of the Roman Pontiff which are issued for the preservation (*custodia*) of the Christian religion, is disobedient to the Apostle Peter, whose vicar he is, and does not belong to that flock which was committed to him by God."

[2] See the "*Refutacio regis Ungarie*," ap. Boso, *L. P.*, ii. 373. "Denuntiamus vobis, Pater ven : nos legi divine subditos ac secundum eam servire vobis paratos. Unde et investituram episcoporum hactenus a majoribus nostris habitam . . . dimisimus."

[3] *L. P.*, ii. 306, n 1. In assigning this locality to Blera, Duchesne notes that harmony is thereby introduced between the *Life* of Pandulf, the *Annales Romani*, and Boso, "ex comitatu Galliace, oppido Bleda."

[4] *H. E.*, x. 1. As the rule of St. John Gualbert, the founder of Vallombrosa, was that of St. Benedict, Paschal, even if one of its monks, could still claim the saint as "his father." Ep. 382. Paschal's assertion to Pontius, the successor of the famous abbot Hugh, that his knowledge of him was but partial, "nobis *ex parte* jam notus sis" (ep. 380), may be taken as confirming the assertion of Orderic.

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any rate, so highly was he esteemed by his superiors that he was sent to Rome at the age of twenty on the affairs of his monastery. "His conduct of the business, the gravity of his deportment, the uprightness of his character, and the quickness of his understanding attracted the notice of Gregory VII. He kept the young monk by his side, and in due course made him cardinal-priest of St. Clement."[1] He had also been made abbot of St. Lawrence outside-the-walls.[2]

The same qualities which moved Gregory to make the young monk a cardinal, moved Urban to employ him as a papal legate,[3] and the clergy and people to elect him Pope.

The election of Paschal, August 13, 1099.

On the death "of the magnanimous Lord Pope Urban of solemn memory," the electors assembled in the Church of St. Clement, apparently in the old basilica, which had been irrevocably injured by Guiscard, but which seemingly had not yet been replaced by the present church, which was erected by Cardinal Anastasius (†1126–1127).[4] The electors are stated by Pandulf to have been "the cardinals and bishops, the deacons and the chief men (*primores*) of the city, the *primiscrinii* (secretaries), and the regionary scribes." After some discussion of different names, the cardinal of St. Clement, perceiving that the thoughts of the assembly were being turned towards himself, endeavoured to escape and hide himself. Soon discovered, he was brought back and upbraided for his action. "Nay," said he, "it is better to fly than presumptuously to take up a burden for which one's shoulders are unequal." "It is for you," they replied, "to follow whither the will of God would lead you, and as the people desire you to be Pope, and the clergy have

[1] *L. P.* [2] Sigebert, *Chron.*, 1105.

[3] *Cf. supra*, vii. p. 339 ff. According to Ekkehard (*Chron.*, 1099, *sub fin.*), Urban designated him as his successor.

[4] *Cf.* Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. 127 ff., 2nd ed.

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elected you, it is God's providence which calls you." In vain did he hold out. He heard the notaries thrice proclaim: "St. Peter has elected Pope Paschal." Whilst the customary *lauds* were being sung, he was clad with the red cope (*clamide coccinea*),[1] and a tiara was placed upon his head. Then on horseback he was solemnly escorted with canticles of joy to the Lateran Palace. There he dismounted, and took his seat on the stone chair which was in the portico of the basilica, *i.e.*, on the so-called *sedes stercoraria*,[2] whilst the choir sang from the Psalms (No. 112): "Raising up the needy from the earth, and lifting up the poor out of the dunghill (*de stercore*), that he may place him with princes." Then he was led to the episcopal chair (*sedes patriarchalis*) in the apse, where he received the homage of the cardinals. Leaving the basilica by the door which opened into the palace, and which still exists, he ascended to the chapel of St. Sylvester on the first floor of the palace. At the entrance of the chapel were two *porphyry* seats, called by Pandulf *sedes*

[1] In the formal *Ordo Romanus XII.* of Cencius Camerarius, written at the end of the twelfth century, this action is thus described: "Prior diaconorum ipsum de pluviali rubeo ammantat." Ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1097.

[2] That is the name given by Cencius to the chair mentioned by Pandulf. It is of marble (sedes *mamorea*; see *Ord. Rom. XIV.*, c. 20, *circa* 1320), and is adorned with figures in relief. It is now in the Vatican museum. It had been brought from some ancient Roman bath. It is not, however, *perforated*, but takes its name from one of the words of the versicle of the Psalm quoted in the text. In the time of Mabillon, it, along with the other two seats mentioned in the text, was in the cloister of the Lateran. *Cf.* Armellini, *l.c.*, p. 96; Nichols, *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*, p. 129 f. n. The silly stories told about the *sedes stercoraria* do not deserve notice. When first mentioned by Pandulf it had no name. Evidently the name it received was given to it by some wag to distinguish it from the chair inside the basilica, to which the Pope was led after rising from the chair—the *sedes stercoraria*—in the porch. Hence the remarks of Gregorovius (*Rome*, v. pt. i. p. 13) about "inappropriate seat, etc., are wide of the mark."

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curules, or *symæ* (*sigmæ*).[1] Brought from some ancient Roman bath, they were of the nature of easy-chairs on which the Pope reclined rather than sat.[2] When Paschal had taken up his position on one of them, a girdle was put upon him, from which depended seven keys and seven seals; when seated in the other chair, a rod was put into his hands.

In these ceremonies, originally simply designed to typify the new Pope's taking possession of the temporalities of the Roman See, both Pandulf and Cencius see a spiritual symbolism. Thus the former tells us that the keys were given to the Pope that he might be reminded that, in his binding and loosing for the interests of the Church, he should be guided by the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost. And the latter notes that, in taking his seat on the two chairs, he should reflect that he should ever remain between the primacy of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the preaching of Paul, the doctor of the Gentiles.[3]

[1] *In vit. Honor. II.*

[2] Speaking of the use of these same "duæ Sedes porphyreticæ nudæ" in the case of Innocent VIII. in 1484, the famous Burchard, in his *Cæremoniale* (c. 252), says that in them "Papa sedit, quasi jaceret." These seats were really not of porphyry, but of red marble ("di vivacissimo rosso antico massiccio," says Cancellieri, p. 239), and were perforated. Hence we need not be surprised that they have often been confused with the *sedes stercoraria*, and that the same silly stories have been told of them as of it. Writing to Chrysoloras, J. d'Agnolo di Scarpela tells him of the inauguration of Gregory XII. (1405), and so mentions the "geminæ . . . Sedes porphiretico incisæ lapide, in quibus, quod perforatæ sint, insanam loquitur vulgus fabulam, quod Pontifex attrectetur, an vir sit." Ap. Cancellieri, *Storia de' solen. possessi de' sommi Pontifici*, p. 37, ed. Roma, 1802. This author (p. 239 ff. n.) seems to me to have given the best account of these three seats. Of the two *symæ* one is said to be now in the museum of the Louvre, and the other in that of the Vatican (*L. P.*, ii. 307). The ceremonies in connection with these three chairs came to an end with Leo X.

[3] "Electus . . . sic sedere debet, ac si videatur inter duos lectulos jacere, *i.e.*, ut accumbat inter principis App. primatum Petri, et Pauli doctoris Gentium prædicationem." *Ordo XII.*, c. 48. While this *Ordo*

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Paschal's consecration, 1099.

Paschal was consecrated in St. Peter's on the day following that of his election (August 14). The consecrating bishops were Otho (Oddo) of Ostia, who, as the principal consecrator, wore the pallium, Maurice of Porto, and Walter of Albano, assisted by some other bishops. When the ceremony was over, the Pope was solemnly crowned on the steps of St. Peter's before mounting his horse, and returned in state to the Lateran amidst a delighted populace.[1]

Letters about his accession.

One of the first things which the new Pope did was to write to inform Hugh of Cluny of the death "of our Father Urban," bewailed by the whole Church, and of his own accession.[2] He knew that he could adopt no better method for having himself promptly recognised as the true Pope by the Christian world. Nor was he mistaken. Letters of adhesion soon reached him, and hopes were freely expressed that he would better the good promise he had already given.[3]

throws light on the description of Pandulf, it shows the changes which the Roman ceremonial underwent in the course of the twelfth century.

[1] *L. P.* Hare (*Walks in Rome* (London, 1872), i. 342) says that "the castellated Convent of the Santi Quattro Incoronati was built by Paschal II. at the same time as the church, and was used as a papal palace while the Lateran was in ruins; hence its defensive aspect, suited to the troublous times of the antipopes." But from the frequent mention of the Lateran as being in ordinary use at the very beginning of the reign of Paschal, it would appear that the damage done to it by Robert Guiscard (?) must have been already made good.

[2] Ep. 1.

[3] Ep. 81 of Ivo.

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CHAPTER II.

TWO ANTIPOPES. LOCAL DIFFICULTIES.

The antipope Guibert (Clement III.) dies, 1100.

IN Rome all went well for the Pope. Won over by his affability, the people seem for once to have united in loyalty to their priestly ruler. They became anxious to drive away the antipope from their neighbourhood; and a timely gift to the Pope of a thousand ounces of gold from Roger I., count of Sicily, enabled the enterprise to be set on foot. Driven from Albano, Guibert betook himself to Civita Castellana, where a sudden death put an end to his ambitious career[1] (*c.* September 1100). As his followers soon gave out that a miraculous light was seen at his tomb, and that miracles were worked thereat, Paschal put an end to both by causing his body to be dug up and thrown into the Tiber.[2] Ordericus has preserved a few verses[3] on Guibert which may serve as his epitaph. They were the work of Pierleone, destined himself, strange to say, to become the father of an antipope. The poet reminds Guibert that, expelled from both Rome and Ravenna, he has earned an abode for himself in hell by his use of a name without its substance.

Two antipopes.

The death of Guibert did not, however, unfortunately,

[1] "Subito morte præventus, diabolum cui contumaciter servivit invenit." *L. P.*

[2] *Ann. S. Disibodi*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. p. 17. The letter to Henry IV. describing Guibert's miracles may be read, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 194.

[3] The concluding ones run :—

> "Sed quia nomen eras sine re, pro nomine vano
> Cerberus inferni jam tibi claustra parat."

H. E., x. c. 1, *init.*

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bring peace to Paschal and to Rome. The party of the German king was not dead either in Germany or in Italy. By a free use of bribes and threats, Henry had, on his return to Germany, succeeded in once more rehabilitating his party, and in depressing that of the Church. "We have few friends in this country," wrote[1] Udalric of the monastery of St. Michel-sur-Meuse to Urban II.; "for fear of the tyrant has drawn to his communion those who formerly obeyed you. But we know that you have the word of life, and with you we will not shrink either from a laborious life here below, or from a glorious death." To strengthen himself still more, as he thought, Henry had also caused his younger son of the same name as himself to be crowned king (January 5, 1099).

His party, therefore, did not hesitate, on the death of Guibert (Clement III.), to elect another antipope. Some night towards the close of September, a number of them met secretly in St. Peter's and elected a certain Theodoric, known to the schismatics as bishop of St. Rufina.[2] He is said to have held a council on September 30.[3] It is certain, however, that he did not retain his usurped position very long. Not daring to remain in the city, he left it to make his way to Henry, but was seized "one hundred and five days" after his election. Brought before the Pope, he was condemned and consigned to the monastery of La

Theodoric, 1100.

[1] Ap. Baluze, *Miscel.*, iv. p. 452, ed. Paris, 1683. "Diligimus quod in ipso (Christo) diligis. . . . Unde et pravitatem erroris hujus tyranni Heinrici . . . respuimus." . . . Those, he adds, who will not give way to the tyrant "afflictionibus quamplurimis lacerare contendunt. Nos, autem, quoniam te verba vitæ habere cognovimus tecum in terra laboriose vivere vel gloriose mori non abhorremus." *Cf.* Bernald, 1100.

[2] *Ann. Romani*, p. 345, and *L. P.*, ii. p. 298. In a letter of the antipope Clement III. of October 18, 1099, there is a Theodoric, bishop of *Albano*, ap. *Archivio della R. Soc. Rom. di Storia Patria*, 1900, p. 283.

[3] *Ann. Besuens.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ii. p. 250.

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Cava,[1] and there died in the course of a year or so (1102).[2]

Albert, February–March 1102.

No sooner was he dead than Henry encouraged[3] his partisans to elect yet another antipope. Again was there another mock election in St. Peter's. But no sooner did word of what was there being done spread abroad than the whole city was in an uproar, and the crowd rushed to the basilica. In great alarm the assembly hastily broke up; but while Albert, the newly elected antipope, who is called bishop of Sabina, contrived to make his escape to the basilica of St. Marcellus, many of his party were seized and very roughly handled. A sum of money quickly bought Albert from his patron. He was stripped of the pallium he had just assumed, put on a horse behind its rider, and taken before the Pope at the Lateran. After a short incarceration in a tower, he too was sent to a monastery, and ended his days as a monk in St. Lawrence's at Aversa.[4] As we shall see presently, yet another antipope was to disturb the peace of Paschal.

Rebel cities and the Colonna.

Throughout the whole of his pontificate Paschal was driven to engage in petty warfare either with the antipopes, or the Roman lay partisans of the German kings, or with nobles who, pretending a zeal for the interests of a distant suzerain, wished to do as they listed. Pandulf, indeed, speaks

[1] *Ann. Rom.*, and *L. P.*, *ll.cc.*

[2] The epitaph of Theodoric, showing the year of his death, is still to be seen in the crypt of La Cava. *L. P.*, ii. 307, n. 13.

[3] "Nec hoc latet, quod alterum papam ipsi D. Paschali superponere, si fieri posset, conatus sit nec profecerit." Ekkehard, *Chron.*, 1102.

[4] *Ann.*, and *L. P.* At the famous monastery of La Cava I was shown a MS. history of the monastery by Abbot Ales. Ridolfi (1611–1613). He assures us that his work was founded "probatissimis authoribus." He calls the antipope Albertus Atellanus, and would make out that he was elected before Theodoric, whom he sets down as a Roman, and says was elected by the men of Cavæ (Cavenses). On Cavæ see *infra*.

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in glowing terms of a peace of nine years which, "though posterity will scarcely believe in it," he himself saw and felt —a peace for which the trembling peasant (*timidus bubulcus*) longed, and which the audacious robber dreaded. He supposes this period of blessedness to have begun after the departure of Henry V. from Rome (1111), and after his restoration to the Pope of all the territories of Blessed Peter. But, as this narrative will show, Pandulf must have been contented with a very comparative kind of peace. It is true that for about the last seven years of Paschal's life, viz., from the deposition of Maginulf (1111),[1] he was freed from the rivalry of an antipope. We must therefore suppose that this is the vaunted golden age of Pandulf.[2] But it is certainly true that any one period of Paschal's troubled pontificate was as little peaceful as any other.

Despite the great natural strength which the deep gorge of the Treja gives to Civita Castellana, where the antipope Guibert had died, it was soon in the hands of the Pope (1100). The important town of Benevento, which thought to find its independence midst the troubles of the Papacy, was laid under an interdict at a synod held by the Pope at Melfi (October 1100), and captured by him in the following year with the aid of Duke Roger and his Normans. Paschal made his triumphal entry therein on September 23, 1101.[3]

An imperial partisan who caused the Pope much trouble in the early years of his pontificate was Peter "de Columpna." With this turbulent noble the family of the Colonna makes its appearance for the first time in the pages of history. Peter's family was a branch of that of the counts of Tusculum, and, like other branches of that

[1] *Cf. infra*, p. 24.

[2] Duchesne (*L. P.*, ii. 308, n. 25) supposes the epoch of peace to have begun with the expulsion of Maginulf from Rome in 1105.

[3] *Ann. Benevent.*, 1100–1101, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii., and the *L. P.*

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remarkable family, furnished the chair of Peter with some of its distinguished occupants, and with some of its bitterest opponents. Peter himself was the son of Gregory,[1] count of Tusculum, and brother of Benedict IX. Ptolemy, count of Tusculum, and a grandson of the same Count Gregory, will also be found among the foes of Paschal. Peter took his name from the fortress of Colonna, five miles from Tusculum, which, with the little village around it, still exists under the same name, still towers above the Via Labicana, and, strange to say, is still antipapal. This brigand noble began his operations by attacking Cavæ (Cave, some four miles east of Palestrina), which is described as a town "belonging to Blessed Peter (*de jure B. Petri*)." But he miscalculated either his own strength or the weakness of the Pope. Paschal sallied forth from Rome, and attacked the rebel, with the result that Peter not only failed to take Cavæ, but of his own possessions lost Colonna and Zagarolo.[2]

[1] However, the letter of the Margrave Werner (ap. Sigebert, *Chron.*, 1105) distinguishes Gregory and his son Theodolus from Peter "de Columna."

[2] Pandulf, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 298.

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CHAPTER III.

PASCHAL, HENRY IV. (†AUGUST 7, 1106), AND HENRY V. TO THE YEAR 1111.

Henry excommunicated again, 1102.

IN the midst of the troubles and annoyances just enumerated it was impossible for Paschal to forget their principal author, the German Henry, "the heretics' chief," as he called him.[1] With an energy worthy of a better cause, the king, called emperor by his partisans, had once more made himself strong in Germany, and his cause in north Italy had been greatly strengthened by the death of his son Conrad (July 27, 1101). The greatest praise is given to this young prince by Ekkehard, not only because he was "a true Catholic, and most devoted (*subjectissimus*) to the Apostolic See," and more given to piety and study than to arms and pleasures, but because, withal, he was tall, handsome, and brave, merciful and just to all, following in all things the counsels of Matilda and the Pope.[2]

But although weariness of the strife on the one hand, and Henry's bribes and threats on the other, caused many to go over to his side, the faithful remainder severed themselves yet more strictly than ever from the excommunicated. They were mindful, says the historian,[3]

[1] Ep. 88.

[2] *Chron.*, 1099 and 1101 *init.* "Sunt enim qui veneno eum dicant interisse."

[3] One of the last remarks of Bernald, *Chron.*, 1100. All during the strife between the empire and the Papacy one bishop after another returned to his allegiance to the Pope; *e.g.*, Herman of Augsburg in 1100 (ep. Pasch., 13), Obert of Liège (ep. 241), Reinhard of Halberstadt (see his letter, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 460), Otho of Bamberg (*ib.*, p. 464). *Cf.* epp. Pasch., 169, 183–184.

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that when Judas fell away from our Lord, the other apostles cleaved yet more strongly to Him. Besides, the princes of the empire on both sides were tired of the long conflict between Church and State, and gave Henry to understand that he must take steps to put an end to it. Never unwilling to prostitute his kingly word, he promised the princes that he would go to Rome, and summon a great council to assemble there about the beginning of February 1102, in order that after the differences between the Pope and himself had been duly (*canonice*) discussed, "catholic unity between Church and State (*regnum et sacerdotium*) might be restored."[1] But, continues the same well-informed historian, not only did he not fulfil his undertakings, nor offer his submission "to the apostolic dignity," but he made efforts to have Paschal replaced by another antipope.

Under these circumstances, the Pope determined to take action. He gathered round him, about the middle of March, not only the bishops of Italy, but a number of ultramontane prelates as well. Henry was once more declared excommunicated, and that heresy, too, was condemned "which is now troubling the Church, and which asserts that its anathema is to be treated as of no account." A few weeks later, when the multitudes had as usual come together in Rome for Holy Week, Paschal proclaimed the excommunication of Henry before them all. Among the thousands who listened to the Pope's denunciation on that Holy Thursday was Ekkehard, the chronicler we are quoting. "Because Henry has not ceased to rend the robe of Christ, *i.e.*, the Church, by his robberies, his luxuries, his perjuries, and his homicides, he has been excommunicated by Popes Gregory and Urban. We, too, in our late synod,

[1] Ekkehard, *Chron.*, 1102 *init.* "Constat tamen nec ipsum juxta placitum venisse, nec nuncia dignitati apostolicæ subjectionem profitentia misisse."

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have, by the judgment of the whole Church, condemned him to perpetual anathema. This we would make known to all, especially to those beyond the mountains, that he may refrain from his wickedness."[1] The synod also renewed the previous prohibitions against investitures. "Clerics had not to do homage to laymen, nor receive ecclesiastical property from their hands." "For this," as Paschal explained to St. Anselm, "is the root of simony, when, to gain ecclesiastical honours, foolish men stoop to please seculars."[2]

Rebellion of Henry V.

Of this action of the Pope, Henry took not the slightest heed. But, to lessen the growing ill-feeling against him, he proclaimed his intention, some months later (Christmas 1102), of taking the cross. By this announcement he instantly acquired immense popularity among all classes, and great preparations were made on all sides to accompany him to the Holy Land.[3] But, as time went on, it became apparent that he had not the least intention of putting his declaration into effect. The nobles who came to his court with a view to preparing for the Crusade did nothing there but waste their time and substance. Everything went from bad to worse. Conspiracy against the deceitful tyrant soon became rife,[4] and the conspirators began to tamper with the loyalty of his crowned son. In December 1104 their plans were complete. The youthful Henry abandoned his father, raised the standard of rebellion,[5] and wrote to the Pope for advice regarding

[1] Ekkehard, *Chron.*, 1102 *init.* [2] Ep. 73.

[3] Ekkehard, and *Annal. Hildesh.*, 1103.

[4] "Sicque omnes regni principes decipiebat, ut nihil rerum veritatis in re publica ageret, nisi quod suis temporibus cuncta vilescerent." *Annal. Hildesh.*, *ib.* "Propterea secum ficta fide versabantur et adversus eum conspirabant." *Ib.*

[5] In the matter of the rebellion of the young Henry we have in Gregorovius (*Rome*, iv. pt. ii. 324) a striking instance, if not of bad

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the oath he had taken not to aspire to supreme power without his father's permission.[1] He gave out that he could not consort with one who had been excommunicated by the Church, and rejected by the nobles of the empire.[2]

Paschal, "hoping," says the monastic annalist of Hildesheim, "that these events had been brought about by God," sent the young king the apostolic benediction, and, through his legate, Gebhard of Constance, promised him absolution at the judgment seat of God if he would undertake to be a just king, and would make good the injuries his father had done to the Church. On the required pledges being given, Gebhard imparted to the young king the Pope's absolution.

It would have been much better for Pope Paschal if he had not had anything to do with Henry V. It is true that by the laws or customs[3] of the empire Henry IV., as having been under excommunication for more than a year, was not legally emperor; it is true that under his misrule

faith, at least of want of good faith with his readers. To show that Henry was moved to rebel against his father by the exhortations of Paschal, he quotes an *obiter dictum* of Herimann of Tournay (*De restaurat. Abbatiæ S. Mart. Tornac.*, c. 83, ap. *P. L.*, t. 180, p. 102. We know that Herimann went to Jerusalem in 1147). Whereas it is *certain* from the professed and strictly contemporaneous chroniclers of the time (Ekkehard, 1105, and *Ann. Hildesh.*, 1104) that he was incited by his companions. Even the panegyric of Henry IV. (*Vita Hein. IV.*, c. 9), which Gregorovius with his usual inflation of language calls a touching lament of German fidelity, says the same; as do also Landulf jun., *Hist. Med.*, c. 13, and the *Chron. S. Hub. Andag.*, c. 97 (127). *Cf. infra* for the assertions of Henry IV. himself.

[1] *Ann. Hild.*, 1104. "Nuncios Romam direxit, querens consilium ab apostolico propter juramentum, quod patri juraverat, numquam se regnum sine ejus licentia et consensu invasurum."

[2] "Detestabatur eum filius, sicut cuncti fideles, quia denuntiabatur excommunicatus ab Apostolicis Gregorio, Urbano, Paschali." Annalista Saxo, 1104. *Cf. Vita Heinrici, l.c.*

[3] See *supra*, vii. p. 104 n. 3.

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both the Church and State were going to ruin; and it is further true that his personal crimes were such that, had it not been, says the annalist, that God spared him in order that he might do penance, the earth would have swallowed him up alive.[1] All these things are true, and in time of war men are not very particular with what kind of arms they slay their adversaries. But some weapons are, if possible, best left alone. They cut the hands that use them. Rebellious sons are weapons of this kind, as Paschal was to learn to his cost. If Henry IV. had scourged the Papacy with whips, Henry V., a greater dissembler, and in many ways, if possible, a man of inferior moral fibre to his father, scourged it with scorpions.[2]

Meanwhile, however, he was respectful to the Pope and dutiful to the lawfully elected bishops of the empire. He persisted in declining to have anything to do with his father till he was absolved from his excommunication,[3] "reconciled all Saxony to the communion of the Roman Church,"[4] and at the council of Nordhausen (May 1105), he supported its reforming decrees, and declared with tears that he had no wish to reign, and that, if his father would only offer due subjection to St. Peter and his successors,

[1] *Ann. Hild.*, 1103. "Suis temporibus cuncta vilescerent. Multæ urbes . . . ejus bello sunt destructæ, et æcclesiarum Dei erat raptor, silicet causa reconciliandi principes illarum predia distribuendo," etc.

[2] The author of the *Defensio Paschalis*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii. 665, properly upbraids Henry V. for his treatment both of his carnal and his spiritual father. "Henricus ecclesie inimicus, ignorans illud quod divini juris est, non solum doctorem veritatis contristaverit, non solum patri carnali immo et spirituali maledixerit, sed alium carnalem regnum et imperium deserere, et alium spiritualem a justicia declinare violenter coegit."

[3] *Ann. Hild.*, 1105. The patriarch of Aquileia at this time exhorts the old king to obey the Pope. *Ib.*

[4] Ekkehard, 1105. "All Saxony" was reconciled by the expulsion of the imperialist bishops. *Cf. Annal. Hild.*, 1105.

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he was ready either to cease to be king altogether or to reign under him.[1]

Henry IV. turns to Rome, 1105.

Henry, though at first overcome with grief by the rebellion of his younger son, as he had been for a time by that of his elder, soon recovered himself, and began with fire and sword to ravage the lands of his son's adherents.[2] Meanwhile, giving out that he would obey the Pope,[3] he wrote to him whose rights he had outraged by his encouragement of the antipopes, telling him that his son, following the advice of wicked men, had rebelled against him, and that, because he had heard that the Pope was a lover of peace, and desirous above all things of the unity of the Church, he was sending him an envoy to arrange an understanding between them. He wished for a peace which would preserve his own dignity and the honour of the Pope.[4]

A third antipope.

Unfortunately, there does not seem to be any record as to how these overtures were received by Rome. Not too favourably we may no doubt conclude from the fact that an imperial agent in Italy had, before the close of the year, joined in a plot for the election of another antipope. This imperial supporter of the conspiracy was Werner, duke of Spoleto and margrave of Camerino. He was the son or grandson of the Werner who had commanded the German contingent of St. Leo IX. at the battle of Civita, and who had succeeded in making himself master of a large section of what used to be called the Pentapolis. This territory, which then became known as the March of Werner, he had handed on to his children. To the margravate of Ancona which Werner II. had received from his father,

[1] Ekkehard, *ib.* How little the hypocrite was prepared to do either one or the other may be gathered from recension *C* of Ekkehard, 1105.

[2] "Os (hos) omnes quos poterat, qui filio adherebant, vastando et igne cremando consumit." *Ann. Hild.*, 1105.

[3] See the letter of Erlung ap. *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 230.

[4] Ep. Heinr., ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamber.*, p. 230.

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Henry IV. had added the duchy of Spoleto and the margravate of Camerino.[1]

A number of malcontents, nobles outside Rome who, by Henry's power, had obtained possession of papal property, and naturally feared to be driven out of it, and nobles and clerics within the city who had been disappointed in their expectations of obtaining the Pope's favour,[2] applied for the armed support of Werner. After this had been promised them, they secured the services of a certain Maginulf. According to the Pope, this man was a stranger in Rome, and reported to be a necromancer,[3] who gave himself out to be a priest, but whose ordination at the time of Paschal's writing had not been traced. Taking advantage of the Truce of God, when the Pope's men were not under arms, and of the fact that Paschal himself was at the moment residing "in the portico" of St. Peter's, the conspirators elected their puppet Pope in S. Maria Rotunda (the Pantheon) on November 18, forcibly introduced him into the Lateran Palace, and hailed him as Sylvester IV.[4] On the following day, when Paschal left the Leonine City and entered Rome proper, the antipope

[1] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 322. Werner is described as "ex parte Heinrici regis" (*Ann. Rom.*; *L. P.*, ii. 345); as "ex ordine ministerialium regis" (Ekkehard, 1106); and by Paschal (ep. 168) as "Regni Teutonici famulus."

[2] "Alii extra urbem per manum quondam regiam jus sive salarium sedis apostolicæ invaserant," etc. Ep. 168.

[3] Pandulf also speaks of his deceiving the people "nigromantiæ fabulis." Werner, in his account of these transactions which he sent to Henry, and which is to be read ap. Sigebert, *Chron.*, 1105, calls Maginulf an archpriest, and his clerical supporters "good and wise," and assures his master that Maginulf had demonstrated the simoniacal purchase of the Papacy by Paschal, though at the close of his letter he acknowledges the charge of simony was unjust. Abbot Ridolfi (see *supra*, p. 14 n. 4) says that Maginulf was abbot of Farfa.

[4] *Cf. Annal. Ceccanenses*, 1095, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.; *Annales Romani*, *l.c.*

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abandoned the city. But from the *Annales Romani* it would appear that there was previously a good deal of fighting between the Pope's troops under the prefect Peter, and those of the antipope under Berto, "the chief of the Roman militia." The struggle began in the neighbourhood of the Lateran, and extended to the Coliseum and the Septizonium. According to the same authority, it would appear that victory attended the arms of the antipope. But the fact that he had to quit the city the day after his pretended election would seem to show that his success was Pyrrhic at best. He first withdrew with Werner to Tivoli, and then to Hosmum (Auximum ?). There he remained till Henry V. came to Rome, whither he at once went to join him. However, after peace had been made between Paschal and Henry, Maginulf was deposed (*c.* April 11, 1111), but allowed to end his days with his protector Werner.[1]

Henry IV. abdicates, 1105.

In Germany events were to work out as unsatisfactorily for Henry IV. himself as they had done in Italy for his lieutenant Werner. As his troops would not face those of his son on the Regen (August 1105), he had to take refuge in flight to Mainz.[2] Though, as a rule, the great cities on the Rhine had remained faithful to him, he had, on the approach of his son, to abandon that ancient city, and retreat towards Cologne. He then devoted himself to endeavouring to hinder the assembling of the great diet which the new king had summoned to meet at Christmas.[3] However, at an affecting interview which he had with his

[1] *Ann. Romani*, *ib.*, p. 346. The formula of his renunciation of his usurped dignity is still extant: "Ego Monœgealdus abrenuntio omni errori, maxime quem in apostolicam sedem presumpsi et promitto fidem et obœdientiam Deo digno et catholico P. Paschali." Ap. Jaffé, i. 774. In this affair of Maginulf we have naturally regarded Paschal's encyclical to France as the most trustworthy authority.

[2] *Ann. Hild.*, 1105.

[3] *Ib.*, and Ekkehard, *l.c.*

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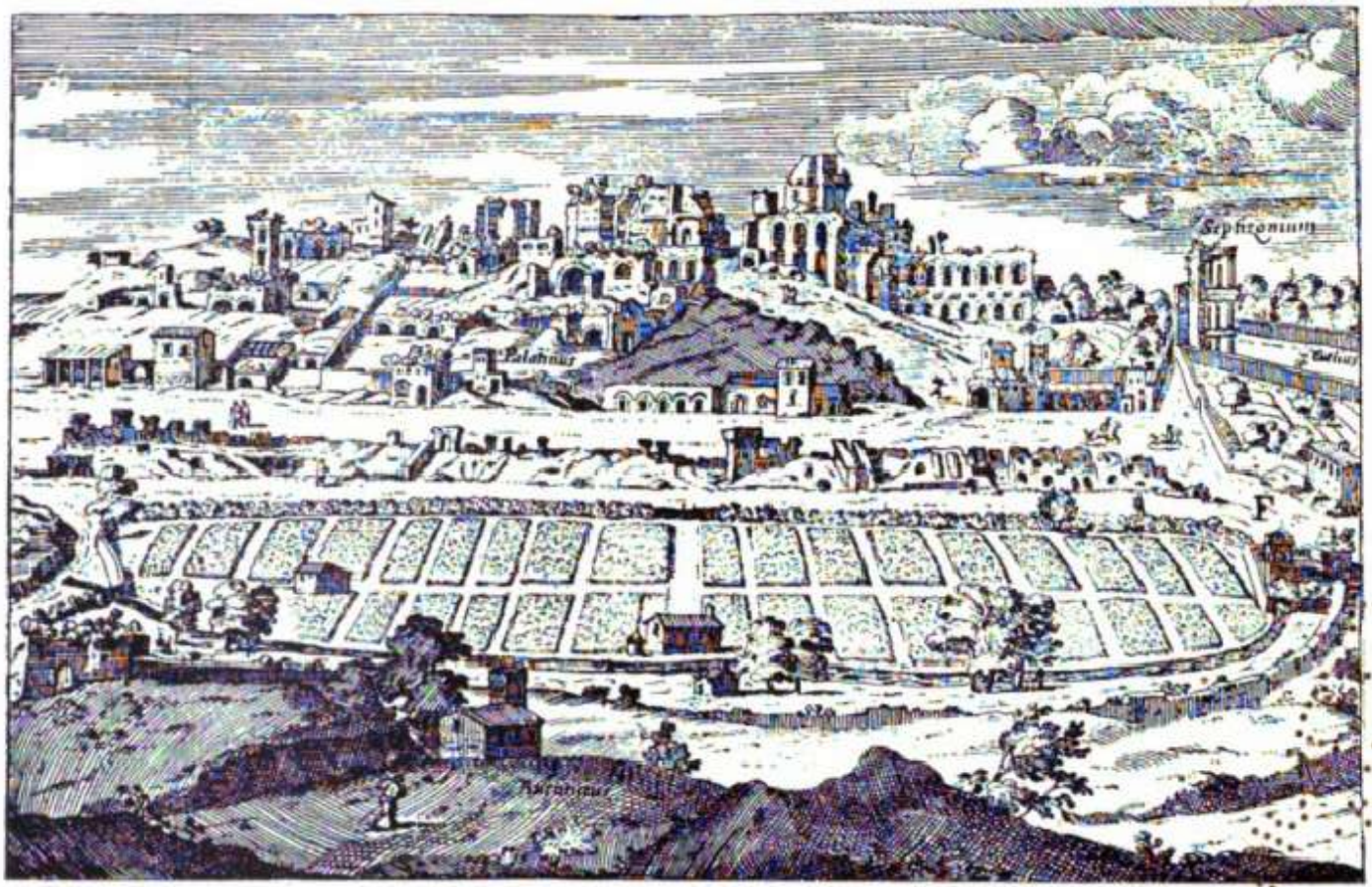

The Ruins of the Palatine, showing the Septizonium on the right, after a drawing by Dupérac, c. 1570.
(From Tomasetti's *La Campagna Romana.*)

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son at Coblentz[1] (December), when the latter again declared his readiness to obey him if he would repent, he put off the discussion of the points at issue till the meeting of the diet. Meanwhile, as the two kings were moving towards Mainz, the elder continued secretly making efforts to undermine the loyalty of his son's adherents. This breach of the safe conduct being discovered, he was seized at Bingen[2] (December 22), and confined in the strong castle of Böckelheim to await the assembling of the diet at Christmas. "This," continues Ekkehard, "caused the foolish report to be spread about that the father had been treacherously seized and imprisoned by his son."[3]

Whilst, then, on Christmas Day (1105) the father lay imprisoned, unwashed and unshaven,[4] exposed to insults, privations, and threats, and, what he said he felt most, deprived of spiritual consolations and of the Body of Christ,[5] the son was presiding at the greatest gathering of the notables of Germany which had assembled for many

The diet of Mainz.

[1] *Ann. Hild.*, *l.c.*; the letter of Henry IV. to Philip of France, ap. *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 241 ff. According to Henry IV., he threw himself at his son's feet, and entreated him as his son not to be the instrument of that punishment which his sins might deserve at God's hands.

[2] So far there has been more or less agreement between our authorities. But from this point all is disagreement. Henry IV., in the letter just cited, and his biographer (c. 10) ascribe his seizure to the unwarrantable treachery of his son. Ekkehard and the *Annals of Hildesheim* mention palliating circumstances, the former the one mentioned in the text; the *Annals* that Henry IV. attempted flight. The two latter authorities are less likely to be biased.

[3] "Vulgaris inde stulticia, patrem a filio dolo captum et custodiæ mancipatum, circumquaque diffamavit." Ekkehard, *ib.*

[4] "Non balneatus et intonsus et ab omni Dei servitio privatus." *A. Hild.*

[5] "Ut taceam obprobria, injurias, minas . . . famem etiam et sitim . . . illud numquam obliviscar . . . quod sine omni christiana communione in carcere illo fui." Ep. Hein. IV. ad. Philip. *Cf.* his letter to Henry V., of July 1106, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 250.

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years. Besides the legates of the Pope, Richard, cardinal-bishop of Albano, and Gebhard of Constance, there were present more than fifty-two of the princes "of the Teutonic kingdom," all of them, in fact, except Magnus, the aged duke of Saxony. The sentence of excommunication, so frequently pronounced against the elder Henry, was solemnly confirmed by the papal legates. But later, when, prompted by fear,[1] he proposed to meet the princes, and to resign in his son's favour, they agreed to grant his petition. They decided, however, that, "as the people were wont to favour his cause rather than that of his son,"[2] the meeting should take place at Ingelheim on the last day of the year.

Accordingly, the older monarch was there brought before the assembled princes. On his knees before them all, he resigned his power into the hands of his son, confessed his guilt, and begged the cardinal to release him from the sentence of excommunication under which he lay. Though he was told that this could only be done by the Pope himself, the unhappy monarch proceeded "with many tears to commend his son to the princes, and to promise that henceforth he would take thought for the good of his soul in accordance with the decrees of the Pope and the Church. In this way did Henry, the fifth of that name, begin to reign, chosen first by his father, and then elected by all the princes of Germany, and confirmed in proper Catholic style by the legates of the Apostolic See."[3] Before the assembly broke up, it was decided to send a most dignified

[1] "Timens sibi multo pejora a principibus futura." *A. Hild.*, 1106. Henry says the same in the two letters just quoted. But he was anything but a hero. He tells the French king he prefers life to the greatest kingdom; and to the princes he gives as the reason of his preference that he may have time to do penance for his sins.

[2] Ekkehard, 1106.

[3] Ekkehard, 1106. *Cf. A. Hild.*, 1106, and Henry's letters.

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embassy to the Pope to beg him to come in person, to bring order to the disturbed German Church.[1]

Seemingly in the interval between the closing of this important diet and the young king's coronation, Paschal wrote to him, congratulating him on his abhorrence of his father's wickedness, and assuring him that if he would show him that obedience which other sovereigns had shown his predecessors, he would recognise him as "the catholic emperor," and would not merely go to Germany, but would expose himself to any risk of body in his behalf.[2]

Coronation of Henry V., 1106.

When the imperial insignia, the crown and the sceptre, the lance and the sword, the cross and the globe, had been delivered up by the deposed monarch, his son was solemnly crowned at Mainz. And it is recorded that as its archbishop, Ruothard, placed the crown on the young king's head, he prayed that "what had befallen his father might happen to him if he did not prove a just ruler of his kingdom, and a defender of the churches of God" (February 1, 1106).[3]

Escape of Henry IV.

After his coronation Henry V. seems to have left his father at Mainz under little or no restraint. At any rate the dethroned king had no difficulty in escaping first to Cologne and then to Liège.[4] There the people had ever been loyal to him, and he had no difficulty in rousing them, and in once more forming a party. Again was the empire disturbed by the din of war. There was fighting on the Meuse; and Cologne, which as usual declared for Henry IV., was besieged by the young king's troops.[5] The aid of the king of France was invoked by the elder Henry,[6]

[1] Ekk., *l.c.*
[2] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 36; for the date of this letter see Jaffé, 6070.
[3] *A. Hild.*, *l.c.*
[4] Henry's letter to Philip, and *A. Hild.*
[5] *A. Hild.*
[6] See the oft-cited letter of *c.* March 1106.

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as was also that of the kings of England, Denmark, and other countries.[1]

Henry IV. appeals to the Pope.

At the same time his cunning kept pace with his energy. While, by his orders,[2] the deputies of the great diet of Mainz, on their way to the Pope, were seized, plundered, and imprisoned by a Count Adalbert, he was professing to Hugh of Cluny that he was prepared to follow his decision with regard to his relations with the Apostolic See. "Would," he wrote, "that I could see your apostolic face, and, bewailing my sins, lay my head on your bosom. Hasten to come to me, for I promise that, saving my honour, I will do whatever you decide ought to be done to effect our reconciliation with the Pope, and to further the peace and unity of the Roman Church." In another letter to the same holy abbot, he promises that, if he will only come, he will do his best to repair the harm he has caused, and that "if we can bring about the unity of the empire and the Papacy (*regnum et sacerdotium*)," we will go to Jerusalem, and there "more earnestly adore Him who for us endured the scourge and the cross, who for our sakes died and was buried."[3]

Further, when, as the summer came on, the young king had collected an army of twenty thousand men (June), Henry IV., to put off the evil day, tried the effect of an appeal to Rome. He accordingly wrote to the princes of

[1] "At nunc ecce pristinis se reddens tergiversationibus, prejudicium se passum per orbem terrarum conqueritur; Gallorum, Anglorum, Dannorum ceterarumque finitimarum gentium gladios cordibus nostris infigere meditatur." See a letter of the princes to Henry IV., ap. Ekkehard, 1106.

[2] "Idque (the imprisonment, etc.) sibi per legationes domini sui Heinrici eximperatoris, demandatum comprobat." Ekk., *l.c.* Gebhard of Constance alone managed to evade Adalbert, and "by the aid of Matilda, another Debbora, made his way to the Pope." *Ib.*

[3] D'Achery, *Spicileg.*, ed. 2, iii. 441 ff., ap. Watterich, ii. 32. These letters may have been of a somewhat earlier date.

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the empire, complaining of the manner in which he had been seized and despoiled, but declaring his readiness to make amends, by their advice and that of Abbot Hugh of Cluny, to his son or to any one whom he had injured. He professed his willingness to give due obedience to the Pope, and to put the Church and State in order. If they will not hear him, he asks them, "by the authority of the Roman Church, to which we commend ourselves and the honour of the empire," to leave him and his undisturbed. Then, speaking no doubt with true natural insight, for Henry V. was a worthy son of Henry IV., he went on to urge that his son was not acting from any zeal for the divine law or for love of the Roman Church, and that, consequently, as no intervention will move him, "we appeal to the Roman Pontiff and to the holy universal Roman See."[1]

But the princes wrote back to tell him that they had renounced the obedience of "the incorrigible head of the schism," by which the empire had been torn for forty years, and by which it had been made a desert, forced to apostatise from the Catholic faith, and almost reduced to paganism. They reminded him that he had himself commended to them the king they had elected, and that he was once more agitating the Church, which had begun freely to breathe again. However, under any terms of security he chose to name, he might come to plead his cause before princes (*senatus*) and people, so that peace might be at once restored to Church and State.[2]

[1] Ap. Ekkehard, 1106. His letter to his son (*Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 250) closes with the same appeal. Gregorovius and some other modern writers show no knowledge of these appeals to Rome on the part of their hero. Ekkehard says he gives the letter of Henry IV. to show his manifold tergiversation "qua se toto vitæ suæ tempore cunctis sibi resistentibus ficta subjectione eatenus fecisset superiorem."

[2] Ap. Ekk., 1106. "Causam suam agat . . . quatenus . . . æcclesiæ vero regnique status, non ut ipse more suo proponit post longas inducias, sed impresentiarum . . . vacillare desinat."

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His sudden death.

The only tangible result of this and other proposals which were made to the dethroned monarch was that the bearers of them were maltreated by him. But while both sides were making preparations for a decisive battle, Henry suddenly fell ill and died (August 7, 1106). According to Ekkehard,[1] those who were present at his death-bed said he made a good end, confessing his sins, receiving the Holy Viaticum, and sending messages of peace and goodwill to the Pope and to his son.[2]

Whatever was the death he died, "the news of it brought joy to the hearts of all true Christians everywhere,"[3] and furnished food for reflection to the thoughtful. St. Anselm bade the count of Flanders "look round and consider the fate of princes who attack the Church and trample her underfoot."[4] And even the dead monarch's godfather and faithful friend, Hugh of Cluny, writing to move Philip of France to leave the paths of sin, bids him "think and tremble at the fate of the princes, his neighbours, William of England and Henry of Germany. See what evils they have suffered, what dreadful deaths they have died. The first falls stricken by an arrow. . . . The other, you must know, has just died, after having endured cruel agonies, and after having borne the weight of miseries untold."[5]

The character of Henry IV.

After recording the death of him who, out of the fifty-six years of his life, bore the title of king for fifty, and who was known to his partisans "by the appellation of the Emperor Henry IV., but to Catholics, *i.e.*, to all who, in virtue of the law of Christ, offer fidelity and obedience to Blessed Peter

[1] *Codex C.* This MS. (preserved at Christ's College, Cambridge) is said to be an autograph copy of Ekkehard's *Chronicle.*

[2] *Cf. Ann. Hildesh.*, 1106. In proof of his reconciliation with his son, various authorities (*e.g. Annal. Blandin.*) tell us that he sent him the imperial ring and other insignia.

[3] Ekk., *l.c.*

[4] Ep. iv. 13.

[5] Ep. Hugonis, 8, ap. *P. L.*, t. 159, p. 930.

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and his successors, by the appellations of archrobber (*archi-pyrata*), heresiarch, apostate, and persecutor rather of souls than bodies," Ekkehard says a few striking words about his character. No one, he insists, by birth and ability, endurance and courage, and every bodily advantage, would, in our times, have been more fitted to wear the imperial crown, if he had known how not to yield to vice. To these pregnant words of the abbot of Aura we will only add that Henry was the selfish and cruel tyrant that he was because he was utterly given up to gross sensuality,[1] and this vice never begets aught but the cruel and the selfish. Henry IV. was like our own Henry VIII., for the vice that fashioned both of them was the same—lust.

His burial.

Henry IV. had requested on his death-bed that his son might be asked to allow him to be buried at Spires by the side of his parents. Meanwhile the loyal people of Liège buried him in their Church of St. Lambert. When, however, the young Henry consulted the princes regarding his father's burial, they advised that, as he died under sentence of excommunication, his body should be dug up and placed in an unconsecrated building, whilst envoys were dispatched to ask the Pope to remove the excommunication. This advice was followed, and the body, according to the commonly received account, was placed on an island in the Meuse.[2] Were we to believe the author of the *Life* or panegyric of Henry IV., there was deep and general mourning after his death, and ceaseless prayers were offered at his tomb.[3] Whatever truth there may be in this

[1] "Qui nec naturalibus nec consuetudinariis contentus sceleribus, nova et a seculis inaudita ideoque nonnulla incredibilia excogitasse et exercuisse infamabatur." Ekkehard, 1106.

[2] The princes of the empire, then, were "the fanatic priests," who caused the king's body to be removed from Liège. Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 298.

[3] *Vit. Hein.*, c. 12.

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statement, when his body was placed on the island, no one was found to watch by it but a monk who had returned from the Crusades, and who by day and night sang psalms by its side.[1]

If it is not quite clear where the body of the unhappy king was first taken after its removal from St. Lambert's, all authors agree that it was transported from one unconsecrated place to another before it was finally allowed to rest by the tombs of the kings of Germany in the cathedral of Spires (August 7, 1111). For it seems certain that for some time, at any rate, Paschal would not suffer the body to be buried in the cathedral. "If we will not communicate with the saints in life, we cannot in death."[2]

The Corsi give trouble to the Pope, 1106.

It may have been observed by any one reading the foregoing narrative of the rebellion of Henry V., that not a single document from the papal chancellary has been quoted in connection with it. The simple reason is that but one or two such documents, and those only indirectly treating of it, have come down to us. This unfortunate circumstance, which to some extent leaves us in the dark with regard to the attitude of the Pope during that eventful but difficult time, is due principally to the loss of Paschal's register, but partly also to the fact that trouble at home with the antipope Maginulf and rebellious nobles prevented him from paying full attention to the course of events in Germany. This is especially true of the year 1106.

Once or twice, however, we do find Paschal alluding to

[1] According to one recension of Sigebert's *Chron.*, 1106, ap. *M. G. SS.*, vi. 371, cited by Richter, *Annalen des Deutschen reichs im Zeitalter Heinrichs IV.*, p. 520, it was through the action of Henry, bishop of Magdeburg, and legate of the Apostolic See, that the body of Henry IV. was removed from Liège and taken to an unconsecrated chapel on the hill of Cornillon, on the right bank of the Meuse, near the city.

[2] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 36. Ekkehard (*Chron.*) makes the bishops of the empire give utterance to this same theological dictum.

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the rebellion. Exhorting Ruothard of Mainz to renewed efforts against simony (November 11, 1105), he reminds him that "divine providence has provided the opportunity of a new rule" (*novi regni*). He asserts that it is his wish to let kings have their rights, provided they will leave full liberty to the spouse of Christ. But what, he asks, have they to do with the episcopal crosier? Let kings have what belongs to them, and bishops what is their due.[1]

But the Corsi drove the affairs of the empire from the Pope's thoughts. The Etna of the wicked, *i.e.*, of Maginulf and his supporters, was still smoking, although, says the papal biographer, its fire had been put out by the virtues of Paschal. Among other nobles who had supported the third antipope were the Corsi. In consequence of their treason the Pope had levelled their strongholds on the Capitol to the ground. Stephen Corsi, however, the head of the family, contrived to seize St. Paul's outside-the-walls, and its adjoining fortress, Johannipolis. Thither all the malcontents, ever a large class in Rome, betook themselves. Once more in the unfortunate reign of Paschal did law and order leave the city. "There was no security inside or outside of it." No wonder that the bishop of Florence, seeing the miseries in Germany and Rome, began to teach that antichrist was born.[2] The robber stronghold was, however, soon stormed by the Pope. Stephen fled, assumed the habit of a monk, and was on that account allowed by the Pope to remain free.

But no sooner did Paschal leave Rome for the north of Italy and France with a view to arranging for the peace of the empire, than Stephen threw off his monk's cowl.

[1] Ep. 164. "Habeant reges quod regum est; quod sacerdotum est, habeant sacerdotes: sic pacem invicem teneant, et se invicem in uno Christi corpore venerentur." *Cf.* ep. 180.

[2] Pandulf, *in vit.*

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Resuming his sword and soon making himself master of the Upper Maremma, he fortified Montalto (north-west of Corneto, and near the mouth of the sparkling river Fiora), and Pontecele,[1] not far from it, both cities belonging to the Pope (*de jure b. Petri*). As soon as he returned from France (September 1107), Paschal attacked the rebel and captured Pontecele. But the castle of Montalto, which still towers above its melancholy little town, defied his efforts, and he found it necessary, before he had completely subdued his rebellious vassal, to return to Rome. Thence in the following autumn he set out for Apulia (September 1108). On his departure, he entrusted Bovo, bishop of Labicum, with the care of the churches; Pierleone and Leo Frangipane with the government of the city and its suburbs; and Ptolemy with the control of the patrimony outside the city and of his nephew Galfred, the commander of the forces (*militiæ*).

Unfortunately for himself, Paschal was possessed of very little ability to judge of the characters of men, and still less of that firmness which is necessary to keep the lawless in check. Ptolemy proved false to his trust. Instantly there was rioting in the city. Anagni, Præneste, Tusculum, and the Sabine territories were in revolt; and Peter of Colonna, the abbot of Farfa, the Corsi, and a crowd of others had attached themselves to the count of Tusculum. Want of energy at any rate was not a fault of the Pope. With the aid of the Norman Richard, duke of Gaeta, he made his way to Rome (1109); and, trusting to kill the rebellion by stabbing it in the heart, he laid siege to the fortified mansions and towers which the rebels possessed on the Capitol and in other parts of the city. Nor was he disappointed in his expectations. When their urban

[1] Thought to be Castrum Celle or Cellarum, the modern Cellere, several miles to the north-west of Toscanella.

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fortresses fell into the Pope's hands, the rebels succumbed, gave hostages, and promised amendment. With this, unfortunately for himself and the cause of order, Paschal was content. At any rate there was present peace, and "it lasted until God's anger brought into Italy that devastator of the earth, Henry, the son of Henry."[1]

Paschal holds councils in N. Italy, 1106.

In the midst of all the civic troubles caused by the Corsi and their adherents, Paschal left Rome several times. On one occasion (September 1106) he did so with the intention of going to Germany, whither, as we have seen,[2] the great diet of Mainz (January 1106) had called him. "All," says Donizo,[3] "were anxious for him to traverse the world, binding, loosing, and healing." His first care was to visit the great Countess Matilda, who received him with all honour. Under her protection he held councils first at Florence, and then (October 22) at Guastalla, a town under the control of the countess at the confluence of the Crostolo and the Po. At this latter synod, at which were present many clerics and laymen from different countries, along with the envoys of Henry V., decrees of both mercy and justice were passed. Owing to the very great number[4] of ecclesiastics in Germany who, by their adherence to the cause of their late sovereign, were in a state of schism, it was necessary to deal leniently with them. It was accordingly decreed that such clergy, of whatever rank, as had been ordained during the schism, and were not intruders or guilty of simony or any other crime, but were men of

[1] Pandulf in the *L. P.*, ii. 300. *Cf. Chron. Sublac.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xxiv. p. 939 f., for the capture by the Pope of certain places in the neighbourhood of that monastery. See also an extract from Paschal's register in the *Liber Censuum*, ed. Fabre, i. 407.

[2] *Supra*, p. 25. [3] II. 17.

[4] One of the decrees of this council puts the schismatical state of the German clergy very strongly: "Vix pauci sacerdotes aut clerici *catholici* in tanta terrarum latitudine reperiantur." Ap. Ekkehard, 1106.

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virtue and learning, were to be allowed to remain in the office to which they had thus been raised.

Then, to punish the long-standing rebellious attitude of Ravenna, which had culminated in the schism of the anti-pope Guibert, it was decided that that metropolitan city should, for the future, cease to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Emilia, with its cities of Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Bologna.[1]

Finally, in order to destroy what the Fathers of the council call the causes "of the schisms and heresies which have sprung up in our times," "investitures of churches by laymen" were absolutely forbidden.[2]

As to the rest of the work of this important synod, we may say with Ekkehard, "it would take too long to tell how Paschal, that prudent and faithful steward of God's household, daily most liberally nourished his servants with the bread of God's word; how he deposed pseudo-bishops, and instituted such as were truly Catholic; how to archbishops he granted palliums and to monasteries privileges; how he addressed with honeyed words those shepherds of Christ's flock who were present, and sent letters of paternal warning to those of them who were absent; and how he again engrafted into the living tree of the Church branches which had been cut off from it, and finally rejected such as seemed to be wholly rotten."

Among those present at this council were the ambassadors of the new king, Henry V. They had come to ask the Pope "to grant their master the rights of empire (*jus regni*),"[3] and to promise him true filial obedience.

[1] A fragment of Paschal's register, ap. Watterich, ii. 39. "Hæc enim metropolis per annos jam pæne centum contra sedem apostolicam erexerat se, nec solum ejus prædia usurpaverat," etc.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 40.

[3] Donizo, *l.c.*, or, as the prose *Life* of Matilda expresses it (c. 14), "ut sibi regnandi jus concederet." Montalembert (*Monks*, vii. 350) translates

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The favourable answer which Paschal returned to their request won the approval of the whole council, and of the Countess Matilda.[1]

Paschal proceeds not to Germany, but to France, Dec. 1106.

Elated by the good which the Pope had accomplished at Guastalla, the faithful in Germany were looking forward with great joy to his coming into their country. They expected that he would keep Christmas at Mainz with the king and all the princes of the empire.[2] But both they and the king waited in vain; and while Henry, who had come as far as Ratisbon to meet the Pope, celebrated Christmas there in presence of the papal envoys, Paschal kept the feast with the monks of Cluny.[3] Ekkehard of Aura lets us know some of the reasons which caused the Pope to alter his plans. He had learnt, after he came to the north of Italy, that the young king had not the slightest intention of giving up the right of investiture, that his character was anything but disciplined, and, likely enough, that his dealings with his late father had not been quite such as he had represented them at Rome. Finally, a tumult, which the anti-papal party had been permitted to raise on the occasion of a visit that he had paid to Verona, filled him full of mistrust of the young king. It would be safer to meet him anywhere than in north Italy. Saying "with a groan that the road to Germany was not yet open

this as a request for the "confirmation of their prince's election." But, in so far as the Pope had any right to confirm the election of a king of Germany, he had already expressed his adhesion to his election. Hence it appears to me that Donizo's phrase has reference to a preliminary negotiation for the imperial crown.

[1] "Responsum patris cum cunctis magnificavit" (alta Mathildis). Donizo, *l.c.*

[2] Ekk., 1106 *sub fin.* "Nos, . . . Alpium transcensores speciali quodam pre cunctis efferebamur tripudio, eo quod certi essemus D. Apostolici profectionem sic fuit dispositum, quatinus, iter nostrum quam mature subsequens, natalem Domini Mogontiæ celebraturus esset."

[3] *Annal. Hild.*, and Ekk., 1107.

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to him," he turned aside into France. What was soon to happen at Châlons-sur-Marne showed that he was wise in thus deciding not "to trust the insolence of the Germans."[1]

Paschal in France, 1106–1107.

With the general history of the doings of the Pope in France, or with his action on the Church there, it is not our intention to deal at present. We will continue our account of his relations with Henry of Germany. He had betaken himself into France,[2] "in order to take counsel with the kings of France (Philip and Louis), and with the Church of France, on the difficulties and on the new ecclesiastical investiture troubles with which he had been met by the *Emperor* Henry (V.), and on the greater ones with which he was already threatened by him."[3] The abbot Suger, who gives us this information as to the object of Paschal's journey to France, sets it down as his opinion that the said Henry was "a man wholly destitute of filial piety, or of the common feelings of humanity."

He asks help from its kings.

When Philip and his son came into the presence of the Pope, "out of love of God they bent the knee before him, as kings are wont to do at the tomb of Peter the Fisherman," continues the abbot. Reminding them of what Charlemagne and others of their ancestors had done for the Church, Paschal begged them to help him against its enemies, "and especially against the *Emperor* Henry (V.)" This they promised the Pope, and went with him, along with several of the higher clergy, including the abbot Suger, to meet the German envoys at Châlons-sur-Marne.

Henry V.

Paschal had already caught a sufficient glimpse of the character of Henry V. to enable him to realise that he stood in need of all the assistance he could obtain. Before Henry's position was secured, no one could have been more

[1] "Quasi proterviam Teutonicorum declinans." Ekk., 1107 *init.*

[2] Montalembert (*Monks*, vii. 359) gives his *itinerary* in France.

[3] Suger, *Vita Lud.*, c. 9.

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dutiful to the Pope, more respectful to the bishops, or more suave and just towards everybody. The Church in Germany felt that the days of its freedom had returned. "Schismatical bishops fled from their sees or were expelled from them, and Catholic bishops were elected to replace them." "The torn tunic of Christ was resewn."[1] Even Paschal himself at Guastalla had expressed his belief that the Church had again arisen in its native freedom.[2]

But with the security of power had come its insolence. And now Henry's "real character—in which avarice, selfishness, and overbearing tyranny were conspicuous qualities—began to betray itself. Peace meant, with him, nothing less than the absolute submission of the German nobility, the commonalty, and the Papacy."[3] He reasserted the claims which he had condemned his father for making, and began to invest new bishops with the ring and crosier, as his father had done. The manners of such a king were, of course, repeated in his servants, and with true Gallic wit the abbot Suger has painted us a graphic picture of the insolent envoys of a domineering lord.

The Pope meets Henry's envoys, May 1107.

When the ambassadors of Henry, both bishops and counts, arrived, they came with a numerous escort and with great pomp and circumstance. There was no display of mock modesty about them, but they showed themselves stiff and assertive. One of them, the corpulent Welf II., duke of Bavaria,[4] "quite wonderful in his length and

[1] Ekk., an. 1105. "Abdicatis sive fugatis hereticis, Catholici kathedris pontificalibus destinantur." *Codex C* of the same author speaks of Henry V., "the special flower of the world" . . . "Romanam defensante kathedram."

[2] "Nunc autem per Dei gratiam hujus nequitiæ deficientibus auctoribus, in ingenuam libertatem resurgit ecclesia." Decree ap. Watterich, ii. 40.

[3] Stephens, *Hildebrand and his Age*, p. 187.

[4] The second husband of Matilda, as different from her as could be by the coarseness both of his body and mind.

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breadth," was typical of the embassy. He had a sword always carried before him, and, with a voice like thunder, seemed to have been sent more to inspire terror than to propound an argument. The only *gentleman* among them (*singulariter et solus*), and he was largely French in his manner (*Gallicano coturno exerutatus*), was the archbishop of Trier. After offering the Pope the emperor's service, "saving the rights of the empire," he claimed for his master as an ancient due, not only the right of approving or rejecting all candidates for the episcopacy, but of investing them with ring and crosier for the *regalia*, and of receiving their homage. For the *regalia*, concluded the archbishop, *i.e.*, such things as towns, castles, and tolls are dependent upon the imperial authority. Should the Pope acknowledge these rights, the Church and State will work together in peace and harmony for the honour of God. To this came the answer: "The Church, bought by the precious blood of Christ, and made free, may not again become a slave; if she cannot elect a bishop without the emperor's consent, she is no better than his servant, and the death of Christ is of no avail. If the prelate-elect is invested by the lay power with the crosier and ring which belong to the altar, it is a usurpation of the rights of God; and if the prelate subjects his hands, consecrated by the body and blood of our Lord, to the hands of a layman, blood-stained from his sword, he derogates from his orders and his holy unction."[1] At this the Germans burst out into a fury; and, had they dared, would have used violence. As it was, they went their way muttering: "Not here, but at Rome, and with the sword, shall this quarrel be ended."

The council of Troyes, *c.* May 23, 1107.

While they returned to Germany to sharpen that ineffectual weapon, Paschal betook himself to Troyes in

[1] Suger, *in vit. Ludovic.*, c. 9, Montalembert's translation.

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order to reaffirm in council the condemnation of investitures.[1] Fresh envoys from Henry followed the Pope thither, but could obtain nothing more than the grant of a delay of a year during which their master could come to Rome to have the question definitely settled in a general council.[2] Meanwhile Paschal seems to have excommunicated some at least of the bishops who had accepted investiture at the king's hands. Of one such, Richard of Verdun, the chronicler of that see tells us that the story was current that Paschal had said: "Richard of Verdun has given himself up to the king, and we give him up to Satan."[3] Even Gebhard of Constance, so long the energetic and faithful legate of the Holy See in Germany, was blamed for a certain slackness in the cause of God, and for lending some indirect countenance to the pretensions of Henry.[4]

Paschal returns to Italy, Sept. 1107.

After he had completed the work of the important council of Troyes, Paschal moved slowly towards Rome, "followed by the love of the French and the fear and hatred of the Germans,"[5] and was received in his own city with as much joy "as though he had returned from the dead."[6]

Negotiations re-opened with Henry V., 1109.

The difficulties which Paschal encountered from rebellious vassals when he came back to Italy, and the manner in which he overcame them, have already been set forth.[7] They had scarcely been disposed of, ere negotiations began which were to terminate in the crisis of his career. The

[1] Ep. 215. [2] Ekk., 1107. *Cf.* Labbe, *Concil.*, xii. 754 f.

[3] Lawrence of Liège (fl. 1144), *Gesta epp. Virdun.*, c. 15, ap. *P. L.*, t. 204.

[4] Ep. 214. "Pro multis laboribus tuis pepercimus quod deliqueras." Ep. 216 blames another hitherto faithful servant of Rome, viz. Ruothard of Mainz. At this council the Pope pronounced a divorce between Louis, king-designate of France, and Lucienne de Rochefort on the ground of consanguinity. *Cf.* Luchaire, *Annales de la vie de Louis VI.*, p. 27.

[5] Suger, *l.c.* [6] Ekk., 1107. [7] *Supra*, p. 34 f.

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year assigned by the Pope as the period during which Henry was to make good his contentions, or give them up, had much more than passed, when the young king sent another pompous embassy to Rome, to effect an understanding with the Pope and to arrange for his reception of the imperial crown[1] (1109). When Paschal had been duly informed of Henry's intention to come for the imperial crown, he promised he would receive him with all paternal solicitude if only "he would show himself to the Holy Roman See a Catholic king, a son and defender of the Church, and a lover of justice."[2]

The diet of Ratisbon, 1110.

Content with this reply, Henry, at a diet at Ratisbon (January 6, 1110), announced his determination to cross the Alps in order to receive the imperial consecration at the hands of the Pope; to weld by peace, justice, and law the broad provinces of Italy into closer union with the German empire (*in societatem regni Germanici*); and, in accordance with the wishes of the Pope, to do all he could to promote the interests of the Church.[3] Fired by love of the Church of God and of their country, the assembled princes received the announcement with enthusiasm. He was not thought to be a man, says the abbot-historian we have so often quoted, who was not desirous of taking part in so glorious an expedition.[4]

Henry in Italy, 1110.

In the month of August a powerful and well-equipped German army crossed the Alps into Italy. One division marched with the king over the Great St. Bernard; the

[1] "Archiepiscopus Coloniæ . . . aliique principes satis clari Romam cum pompa non parva vadunt." *Ann. Hild.*, 1109.

[2] *Ib.* *Cf.* Donizo, ii. 18.

[3] "Insuper ad omnia quæ defensio posceret æcclesiastica, ad nutum patris apostolici se promptum demonstraret." Ekk., 1110. There was certainly need of peace in north Italy at this time. The *communes*, city-states, were coming into existence, and had begun to fight with one another, and with the nobles.

[4] *Cf. Ann. Hild.*, 1110.

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other made its way through the valley of Trent. And "knowing that the Roman Empire of old was governed not only by force of arms but by wisdom," Henry surrounded himself with a number of men learned in the law, among whom was the Scotchman David, the historian of this expedition.[1]

Novara and other places which were not anxious "to be welded closely to the empire" were forced to submit to Henry's will.[2] Most of the cities of Lombardy, however, with the notable exception of "populous Milan," offered him of their own accord their homage, their men, and their money. Even the great Countess Matilda, although she would appear to have suspected him, did not attempt to oppose his march, "though she would not undertake to accompany him against *Peter*."[3] She was now too old for war, and was ready to believe that Henry meant peace. Besides, her power was not what it had been. Whilst emperors and Popes were at war, the cities of north Italy were quietly creeping on towards independence of all feudal superiors. The communes of Italy were coming into being, and even the great countess found before the close of her life that her authority was waning.

[1] Ekk., and *A. Hild.*, 1110. The work of David, evidently an apology written to order, is lost, but it has left an impression on Ekkehard.

[2] Ekk., *l.c.* :—

> . . . "Cum multis galeatus in ortu
> Autumni venit, Longobardosque peremit,
> Ardens, devastans illorum maxima castra,
> . . . . . .
> Nobilis urbs sola Mediolanum populosa
> Non servivit ei, nummum neque contulit æris."
>
> Donizo, ii. 18.

Pandulf, *in vit.*: "Civitates multas et castra in itinere, dolo pacem ostendendo subvertit," etc. Sigebert, 1111. *Cf.* Honorius, *Summa totius hist.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, x. p. 131.

[3] Donizo, *l.c.*

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By Christmas Henry had crossed the Apennines and reached Florence. Two days later he was at Arezzo, but had to destroy its citadel before its citizens would receive him (December 27).[1]

The Pope's action in the same year.

Paschal, meanwhile, had been endeavouring to make his policy plain, and his position secure. Not content with his previous solemn condemnations of investiture at the councils of Benevento (1108)[2] and of Troyes (1109), he again proscribed it at a council held in the Lateran (March 7).[3] Then, in the summer-time, he went into Apulia and Calabria to meet Duke Roger I. and the other Norman princes, and to exact from them an undertaking to assist him in case of need; and on his return to Rome he required the Roman nobility to make the same promise on oath.[4] These precautions taken, he awaited with what tranquillity he could the arrival of a monarch who was bearing down all opposition with fire and battering-ram.

Negotiations between Henry and the Pope.

From Arezzo Henry sent envoys to the Pope, and a letter "to the consuls, senate, and people of Rome, both great and small," assuring them that his mission was peace, and that his end in coming to them was to arrive at a just understanding between the Church and them on the one hand, and himself on the other.[5] Henry's real object in coming to Rome was twofold. It was to obtain the imperial crown and to force the Pope definitely to concede to him the right of investiture.[6] How these two ends were

[1] Ekk., *ib.*

[2] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 33.

[3] Annalista Saxo, 1110. This council also re-enacted the canon which excommunicated as robbers and murderers those who plundered the shipwrecked.

[4] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 35.

[5] Ep. ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 268. "Ecclesiæ et ab ecclesia, vobis et a vobis, pro facienda et recipienda justitia pacifice venimus."

[6] *Cf.* Dunham, *The Germanic Empire*, i. 149 ff.

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to be obtained was matterless to Henry; for "the faithless son of Henry IV."[1] was prepared to employ fraud or force; in a word, any means, either fair or foul.

[1] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 332. *Cf.* Suger, *in vit. Ludovic.*, c. 6. "Mire callens pacem simulat, querelam investiturarum deponit, multa et hec et alia bona pollicetur, et ut urbem ingrediatur, quia aliter non poterat, blanditur, nec fallere summum pontificem . . . veretur."

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CHAPTER IV.

THE YEAR 1111.

Negotiations between Henry and the Pope, Jan.-Feb. 1111.

THE negotiations begun between Henry and the Pope, when the king was at Arezzo, were continued as he advanced by Acquapendente to Sutri. The chief intermediary on his part was, as in France, the chancellor Albert, the archbishop-elect of Mainz; while Pierleone, the grandfather of the antipope Anacletus II., was Paschal's principal envoy. The final arrangements were made "in the portico of St. Peter's."[1] Finding that Henry was not disposed to yield the right of investiture, which he maintained had been exercised by his ancestors for more than three hundred years, and had been recognised by sixty-three Popes,[2] Paschal proposed, or accepted the proposal,[3] that the Church should be content with its tithes, and with the offerings which persons in their private capacity had made or should make to it, of what was absolutely theirs to give, and that the king should take back from it the *regalia*, *i.e.*, the property, rights, and privileges, such as cities, duchies, manors, castles, tolls, markets, the right of coining money, etc., which churchmen held from the

[1] *Ann. Rom.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 338.

[2] See the letter of Henry (ap. *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 269) in which he attempts to justify his conduct towards the Pope, and of which Jaffé, its editor, says that it so clashes with the Pope's account of the same events, and *with that of others*, that even Pertz only made confusion worse confounded in trying to reconcile it with them. Another letter of Henry, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 467, even if genuine, does not throw any further light on this affair.

[3] Some think that this scheme for the settlement of the investiture quarrel originated in Germany, and refer to the *De investitura episcoporum*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii. 498.

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king as their suzerain.[1] Paschal also agreed to bestow the imperial crown on Henry, who, on his side, was to give up the right of investiture.[2]

Henry, indeed, accused the Pope and his plenipotentiaries of bad faith in these negotiations. He asserted that they knew that the proposal of the Pope that the bishops of the empire should give up the *regalia* could not be put into effect.[3] But while the subsequent conduct of Paschal makes it plain that he was honourably, even if quixotically, in earnest, Henry, on the other hand, knew that the German prelates, strong in their rights, would never yield them. He knew that so much secular power had been granted them, partly because it was felt that they would make a better use of it than the lay nobility, and partly, in later times, to act as a counterpoise to the authority of the great feudatories of the empire. He knew further that, even if the Pope were able in the end to enforce his will, the secular princes of the empire would never allow their ecclesiastical compeers to give up their temporal authority into his hands. Such an accession of power as he would thereby have received would have made him absolute, and that the lay princes would never tolerate.

[1] "D. Papa præcipiet episcopis . . . in die coronationis regis (which was fixed for February 12), ut dimittant regalia regi et regno, . . . id est civitates ducatus marchias comitatus monetas theloneum mercatum advocatias, omnia jura centurionum et villicorum, curtes et villas quæ regni erant cum omnibus pertinentibus suis, miliciam et castra." See the text of the concordat (*carta conventionis*) as given by Henry in his letter to the people of Parma, cited in the preceding note 2. This concordat was drawn up about February 6, 1111. *Cf.* epp. Pasch., 314, 315.

[2] "Me quoque investituras ecclesiarum, uti querebat, refutaturum." Ep. cit.

[3] "Quod (the renunciation of the *regalia*) tamen nullo modo posse fieri sciebant." The English reader will find some of the "investiture documents" translated in Henderson's *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, London, 1905, or in Thatcher and M'Neal's *A Source-book for Mediæval History*, New York, 1905.

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Hence we find it generally asserted by both native and foreign contemporary annalists that it was Henry who was guilty of double dealing in his relations with Paschal in this eventful year 1111.[1]

Henry enters Rome, Feb. 12.

Whatever attempts at over-reaching were being made, the concordat was duly signed both by the Pope and the king in the week between February the 5th and 12th. Hostages were given on both sides, and Henry advanced towards Rome, after having sworn that he would not make any attempts on the Pope's life or liberty, and that he would leave intact the patrimonies and possessions of Blessed Peter.[2] On Saturday, February 11, the king's army, still very formidable despite its great losses in crossing the Apennines, encamped on Monte Mario, the hill of joy or woe.[3]

Here Henry received two embassies. One came from the people of Rome, requiring him on oath to guarantee "the honour and freedom of the city; but the Cæsar, craftily desiring to outwit them, took an oath in German to do his own will (*juxta suum velle*). This was, however, understood by some of the envoys, who returned to the city declaring that foul play was intended."[4]

[1] See the statement of Suger just quoted. Ekkehard (an. 1111) says that Henry accepted the Pope's offer "sed eo pacto quatinus hæc transmutatio . . . concordia totius æcclesiæ ac regni principum assensu stabiliretur, quod etiam vix aut nullo modo fieri posse credebatur." *Cf.* Sigebert, 1111; Pandulf, *in vit. Pasch.*; and the notes to follow on Henry's treacherous seizure of the Pope.

[2] *Ann. Romani*: "Patrimonia et possessiones b. Petri restituet et concedet, sicut a Carolo, Lodoico, Heinrico et aliis imperatoribus factum est, et tenere adjuvabit secundum suum posse." The annals give in full the oaths taken on both sides. Though Paschal was prepared to make many concessions, he would not agree to the request which Henry made him at this time, viz. that his father's body might be buried in the cathedral of Spires. *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 36.

[3] Mons Gaudii "qui et mons Malus dicitur." *Ann. Rom.*, 1111.

[4] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 36. This is what Gregorovius (*Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 339) calls the Roman king's contemptuous declaration of assent to the people's request.

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The other embassy came from the Pope. After hostages had been given and received by them, Henry again swore to respect the life and liberty and the rights and patrimonies of the Pope, and to give up the right of investiture, leaving undisturbed the private property of the churches.[1]

On the following day the people of Rome, divided according to their regions, and, grouped under their crosses and distinctive gonfalons,[2] displaying eagles, lions, wolves, and dragons, went forth to meet the German king. Many of them, clad in white, bore wands or tapers in their hands, while the great mass bore flowers and branches of trees.

As the king of the Romans approached the city, he had, according to custom, twice to swear[3] to preserve the rights of the Roman people. The first time the oath had to be taken was at the little bridge where the stream was crossed which comes down from the Valle dell' Inferno, dividing the Vatican from Monte Mario; the second time was at the Porta S. Peregrini,[4] the gate in the wall of Pope Leo IV., at the point where it cut the via di Porta Angelica.

Before and at the gate of St. Angelo, by which Henry

[1] "Jurejurando firmavit de ipsius apostolici vita . . . de regalibus etiam et patrimoniis b. Petri, et nominatim de Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia ac Capuano principatu," etc. *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 37.

[2] "D. Papa misit . . . signiferos cum bandis, scriniarii, judices et stratores." *A. Rom.*, *l.c.* "Pontifex misit bajulos, cereostatarios, stauroferos, aquiliferos, leoniferos, lupiferos, draconarios, candidatos, defensores, stratores." *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 37.

[3] *Ann. Rom.* We give the terms of the oath from the *Ordo Romanus ad benedicendum imperatorem* of Cencius Camerarius. In his time it had to be taken a third time on the steps of St. Peter's. "Ego (Heinricus) futurus imperator juro me servaturum Romanis bonas consuetudines et firmo cartas tercii generationis et libelli sine fraude et malo ingenio. Sic Deus me adjuvet et hec sancta evangelia." *Liber Censuum*, ed. Fabre, i. 6*.

[4] It was that one of Leo IV.'s three gates which gave access to the basilica, and was afterwards known successively as the Porta Viridaria, and the Porta Angelica.

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entered the Leonine City, he was welcomed with song by the Jews and by the Greeks. Inside the gate he was met by the inferior clergy in their chasubles, or dalmatics, and birrettas,[1] and, dismounting from his horse, was escorted to the steps of St. Peter's by them and the nobles to the acclamation: "St. Peter has chosen Henry as king."[2] At the top of the steps he was received by the Pope, who was surrounded by a number of bishops, by the cardinals, and by the *schola cantorum*. After Henry had first kissed the Pope's feet, the two rulers thrice kissed each other on the face, and embraced each other. Then hand in hand they approached the Silver Gate.[3] In front of it the king swore to be loyal to the Pope, and to defend the Holy Roman Church.[4] Then, after he had been designated as emperor by the Pope, and again kissed by him, the first prayer was said over him by the bishop of Labicum or Tusculum.[5]

[1] "Omnes planetis, cappis atque dalmaticis induti." *A. Rom.*; *cf.* Cencius, i. p. 1*.

[2] *A. Rom.*, and Pandulf, p. 300. According to Henry's own account, no sooner was he inside the walls of the city than some of his followers were wounded, killed, seized, or robbed. But even he was not distressed by this occurrence (*quasi pro levi causa non motus*); and as the incident is not mentioned by any of the chroniclers, we may pass it by as either false, or an anticipation of what happened afterwards. See his letter to the Parmesans.

[3] *A. Rom.* Peter (*Chron. Cas.*, iv. 37) speaks of Henry's performing the office of groom to the Pope; but unless we are to suppose that the Pope rode across the atrium, there was no opportunity for the performance of this ceremony.

[4] The *Ordo* of Cencius, i. p. 1*, gives the following formula of the oath: "In nomine D. N. J. Christi, ego (Heinricus) rex et futurus imperator Romanorum promitto . . . tibi (Paschali) . . . fidelitatem . . . meque amodo protectorem . . . fore hujus S. R. ecclesie, et vestre persone," etc.

[5] "Sicut in *Ordine* continetur," say the *Ann. Rom.* This first prayer, in which the Pope asks God to give His servant the spirit of wisdom, so that he may please Him, and be famous above all kings, is given by Cencius, i. p. 2*.

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They were now to enter the basilica. Henry, however, would not do so before it and all the fortifications by which it was protected were handed over to his soldiers. He then gave hostages, entered the sacred edifice, and, along with the Pope, took his seat on one of the thrones, which had been placed on a large circular disc of red porphyry [1] "in the centre of the nave, between the altars of St. Simon and St. Jude, and that of St. Philip and St. James." There were other smaller such discs about this large one, and their site, spoken of as "ad quatuor Rotas" (the four discs), was the traditional spot on which the emperors were crowned.[2]

Henry enters St. Peter's.

When the Pope and the king had taken their seats, the former demanded the formal ratification of the concordat, by which he was to require the bishops to surrender the *regalia*, and Henry was to renounce the right of investiture. Instead of at once complying, as he had engaged to do, the king withdrew with his bishops and nobles to the corner of the basilica near the sacristy. It is not at all improbable that the majority of the German notables now heard the details of the convention for the first time. They were both amazed and incensed at the idea of the bishops' surrendering their temporal power into the hands of the king, and would not listen to the suggestion. The day wore on, and though the Pope sent to urge the adoption of the agree-

Treacherous seizure of the Pope.

[1] Pandulf, *l.c.* "Cum in rotam porfireticam pervenisset," etc.

[2] *Cf.* Barnes, *St. Peter in Rome*, p. 281. He says that the disc at present to be seen near the main doors of St. Peter's is not the one spoken of in the text, which unfortunately "lies buried some ten feet below the present pavement, exactly under the arms of Paul V., which are in the ceiling of the church." According to the *Ordo* of Cencius, the Pope sat on the right-hand side of the disc. Before 1870, the Pope carried in his *sedia*, took up his position at this *rota*, when, on the eve of SS. Peter and Paul, he wished to excommunicate such as did not pay the tribute due to the Holy See. *Cf.* Barbier de Montault, *Les souterrains, etc., de S. Pierre*, p. 32, Rome, 1866.

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ment, they held to their determination not to allow the surrender of the *regalia*. Then it would appear as if Henry, convinced as he no doubt had been all along that the *regalia* would not be given up, resolved to force the Pope both to give him the imperial crown and to allow him to retain the right of investiture. At any rate, it was his counsellors (*familiares regis*) that approached the Pope, and contended that the convention could not be carried out with justice.[1] It was to no purpose that Paschal urged biblical and canonical objections to bishops concerning themselves with secular affairs. Henry's party would not accept the convention.[2]

Hour after hour passed; evening was drawing on, and yet nothing was decided. By way of wearying the Pope into doing his will, extraneous topics were introduced by Henry.[3] Men grew impatient. The German soldiery began to close in round the Roman clergy; and a German noble sprang up and shouted: "What need of more words? Crown the emperor at once."[4] With this demand some advised the Pope to comply, on the understanding that discussion on the concordat should be resumed in the following week. The Germans would have none of the concordat.[5] Their king must be crowned at once. To this, however, Paschal would not give his consent, and ordered that Mass should bring the day's tedious proceedings to a close.

Henry now resolved on "one of the most violent and

[1] So far, in the midst of much that is obscure, we have followed the *Ann. Rom.*, which are followed by the *Chron. Cas.*

[2] "Illi tamen in dolositate sua et pertinacia permanebant." *Ann. Rom.*, p. 341.

[3] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 38 *init.* [4] *Ib.*

[5] "Consultum a fratribus ut rex eodem die coronaretur, ceterorum tractatus in sequentem ebdomadam differretur. Illi (familiares regis) etiam hoc adversati sunt." *Ann. Rom.*, p. 341; *Chron. Cas.*, *ib.*

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audacious strokes of the kind recorded in history."[1] Orders were passed to the soldiers to seize the Pope and the cardinals as soon as Mass was over. From all parts of the great basilica the German troops began to press towards the altar. It was almost impossible to proceed with the holy sacrifice. The assistants could scarcely make their way about the altar, or procure the necessary bread and wine.[2]

No sooner was the Mass finished than, roughly and rapidly forcing their way through the crowd which thronged the basilica, the German soldiers proceeded to execute their commission. Paschal was seized at once, compelled to leave his episcopal throne, and placed under a guard by the confession of St. Peter. At the same moment as the Pope, a number of cardinals and lay pontifical officials were also taken prisoners. As soon as the movements of the troops were comprehended, the sacred edifice instantly became a scene of the wildest confusion and uproar. The great rafters rang with the cries of terrified women and children, or with the shouts of indignant and angry men. Some attempted resistance, some flight. Above the din rose the sound of clashing swords and the clanging of steel mail. The religious light of the basilica was rendered still dimmer by the shades of evening and the overturning of lamps. And in the semi-darkness the barbarous soldiers treated the defenceless people as they listed. Many were wounded, if not killed,[3] and still more were robbed. The

[1] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 342.

[2] "Pontifex . . . et omnes qui cum eo erant a militibus armatis custodiebantur. Vix tandem ad altare b. Petri pro audiendis misse officiis conscenderunt, vix ad sacramenta divina conficienda panem, vinum et aquam invenire potuerunt." *A. Rom.*, *ib.*

[3] Peter (*Chron. Cas.*, iv. 38) says that some children and others of the crowd, both clerics and laymen, were even killed. "Alios detruncavit, alios expoliavit."

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sacred vessels were stolen, and many of the clergy were stripped of their priestly vestments, of their clothes, and even of their ornamental buskins and shoes.[1]

To the credit of our human nature be it said that there

[1] Pandulf, *in vit.* "Papam . . . cum episcopis . . . cum proceribus quam multis apprehendit; de aliis vero quam maximis strages fecit; clericos vero . . . expoliavit, planetas, thimiamateria eis auferendo . . . nec etiam subtellaria atque femoralia eis habere permittebat." *Ann. Rom.*, "Alii expoliati alii gravius verberati sunt." The *Annals of Hildesheim* (1111) speak of the tumult as taking place "in gradibus ecclesiæ," and add "vulnerantur plures, quidam trucidantur." Ekkehard has no details. *Cf.* Donizo, ii. 18, "Atque cruces sanctas rapiebat gens Alemanna." *Cf. Defensio Paschalis*, p. 660; Hildebert of Le Mans on the "Germanorum cruda barbaries," p. 668; and the *Rythmus de captiv. Pasch.*, p. 674, all three ap. *Mon. Germ. Libell*, ii. The *Rythmus* was written whilst Paschal was still a prisoner of Henry.

"Vir Paschalis pacifice!
Letare nunc in carcere,
Coronandus in ethere."

We quote a few more verses of the *Rythmus* to show how the Romans felt the outrage.

"Sacrilegi Teutonici,
Homines diabolici,
Pium invadunt populum
Atque catervam præsulum
Vulnerant et expoliant
Ac verberibus cruciant.
. . . .
O misera Germania,
Que te cepit insania?
Quondam fuisti inclita,
Religione predita.
Nunc pro collata gratia
Exerces sacrilegia.

Roma te honoraverat,
Imperio ditaverat,
Tu ejus ad exitium
Dirum paras incendium."

Rudolf, abbot of S. Trond (†1138), also mentions the wholesale plunderings of the Germans. *Gesta Abb. Trud.*, xi. 1, ap. *P. L.*, t. 173.

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were some few Germans who had the courage to show their king that they disapproved of his treacherous and sacrilegious act. Of these heroic souls one was Norbert, the future saintly founder of the Premonstratensian order. He was in the basilica in the capacity of a royal chaplain (*capellanus*). But seeing the great wickedness of his lord the king, he was filled with grief, threw himself at the Pope's feet, and implored his forgiveness, and abandoned a world[1] "where such deeds were possible. Conrad, archbishop of Salzburg, loudly protested against the impious transaction, and offered his neck to the sword of one of Henry's suite, ready to die for justice." Though the glory of martyrdom was denied him, he proved his willingness "rather to part with his life than participate in such a deed of sacrilege."[2]

After the shrieking and terrified multitude had escaped from the basilica, and had fled from the Leonine City, Paschal and his fellow-captives were hurried from the church under cover of darkness to one of the hospitals in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's.

The Romans rise against the Germans.

In the confusion two of the cardinals, John, bishop of Tusculum, and Leo, bishop of Ostia, had contrived to escape. They and the others who had witnessed the outrageous scene in St. Peter's, and had been allowed to go free, soon roused the city. The Romans were filled with grief and fury. Every German who was found in the city proper was instantly massacred.[3]

[1] Herimann, *De restaurat. S. Martini*, c. 85, ap. *P. L.*, t. 180. There is a short *Life* in English of St. Norbert, by Rev. M. Geudens, London, 1886, but a much better one is *Histoire de St. Norbert*, by G. Madelaine, Lille, 1886.

[2] Otto Frising, *Chron.*, vii. 14. *Cf. Vita Chunr.*, c. 9, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi.

[3] *Ann. Rom. Cf. Chron. Cas.*, iv. 39, which says: "Evestigio Alemannos qui causa orationis seu negotii aut visendi in Urbem ingressi fuerant, interficiunt." This is, without doubt, the slaughter

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All night long the people prepared for fight, and with the morning light, unfurling their standards, they forced their way into the Leonine City to effect the release of the Pope.[1] So sudden and fierce was their attack that Henry himself nearly lost his life in the fray (February 13). The fight was carried on all day with varying fortune, but with great loss of life. Both parties being exhausted by the terrible encounter, there was a cessation of hostilities for two days. At the close of the second day's rest, the Romans, animated by the cardinal of Tusculum, who bade them fight for their lives and for their liberties, for glory and for the defence of the Apostolic See, prepared for a grand attack on the following day. But during the night (February 15–16) Henry evacuated the town, taking with him the Pope and his prisoners, but leaving behind him no little treasure, and not a few of his wounded.[2]

The Pope dragged from place to place.

Stripped of his pontifical insignia, perhaps even bound, Paschal was escorted from Rome. Cardinals and nobles followed after him, dragged with ropes through the mud by German horse soldiers.[3] Hurried along the Flaminian Way, he was taken past the foot of Mount Soracte and

which Henry pretended took place as soon as he entered the Leonine City.

[1] *Ann. Hildesh.*, 1111.

[2] "Non solum sarcinas, sed multos etiam socios in ospitiis reliquerit." *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 39. *Cf.* the letter of John of Tusculum to Cardinal Richard of Albano, ap. Labbe, *Conc.*, x. p. 777. For further evidence of Henry's acknowledged treacherous action in this affair *cf. Ann. Ceccanenses*, and *Ann. Elwangenses*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix. and x. In *M. G. SS.*, xix. p. 273, is quoted an interesting marginal note in a twelfth-century hand from a martyrology which once belonged to S. Maria Trastevere. Henry "cum *traditione* appreendit pont. Paschalem cum episcopis et multis cardinalibus R. E., et multos clericos expoliavit et plures laicos interfecit. Mansit in captione apud regem 60 diebus cum multis clericis et laicis." *Cf. Chron. S. Andreæ*, iii. 27, ap. *ib.*, vii.

[3] *Chron. Cas.*, *l.c.*; *Ann. Reichersbergenses*, 1111, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii.; Suger, c. 9.

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through the Sabine country, and finally lodged, with six cardinals, in a castle at Trebicum,[1] while the other captives were imprisoned at Corcodilum (Corcolo, Querquetula), to the south-west of Tivoli, and six miles from Zagorolo.[2]

Failure of efforts to release him.

When the cardinal of Tusculum discovered that Paschal had been carried off into the Campagna, "acting in the name of Jesus Christ, bound in the person of the Pope,"[3] he made every effort to raise a force strong enough to compel Henry to set his sovereign free. But, as we have said, Matilda was now too old for fighting,[4] and the Normans were themselves in a critical state. Duke Roger I. of Apulia died a few days after the capture of the Pope (†February 22), and his brother, the famous Crusader, Bohemund, prince of Tarentum, followed him to the grave a little later. So that there were three female rulers in south Italy during Paschal's captivity: Adelaide in Sicily, Alaine in Salerno, and Constance in Tarentum.[5] Already, when Henry began to move towards Rome in the beginning of February, had Paschal himself to no purpose endeavoured to rouse the Normans to show themselves ready to help him.[6] Undeterred by the Pope's failure, John made noble efforts to stir up the old allies of the Papacy.[7] But though

[1] Thought to be the ancient Treba (Trevi), up the valley of the Anio, south-east of Subiaco.

[2] *Ann. Rom.*, p. 341, and *Chron. Cas.*, *l.c.*

[3] "Agens vices d. Paschalis Papæ vincti J. Christi." See his letter just cited.

[4] She contented herself with sending an envoy to plead in the Pope's behalf. Donizo, ii. 18.

[5] *Cf.* Chalandon, *Domin. normand.*, i. 313.

[6] "Exortarios ubique dirigens apices, non cessabat (Paschal) Normannos et Langobardos ad Romanæ ecclesiæ servitium invitare; sed qui verba ferebat, verba recepit." *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 36.

[7] *Ib.*, c. 39. The author of the *Rythmus*, too, calls on the Normans for help :—

"Vos principes Apulie
Orti stirpe Neustrie
Bellica arma capite,

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they realised that the Pope's interests and their own were identical, they were paralysed by the deaths of their leaders, and were, moreover, in dread of a rising of the natives. Robert, prince of Capua, however, dispatched a troop of horse towards Rome. But faced at Ferentino by Ptolemy of Tusculum and other nobles of the Campagna, who were standing for the king, they rode back home.[1]

Paschal is compelled to yield the right of investiture to Henry.

Of rescue, then, there was no hope for Paschal. Week after week passed by, and his hard captivity continued. No Italians were allowed to speak to him, while the Germans by whom he was surrounded told him of nothing but the ravages that their king was inflicting on the people,[2] and were for ever urging him to make peace by surrendering to their master the right of investiture. Their king, too, swore that he would kill or maim all his prisoners if he did not do his will.[3] Overcome by the sufferings of his faithful adherents, and in dread of a revival of the schism of Maginulf, with which he was threatened, Paschal, who had proclaimed his readiness to die rather than give way to the king, at length, "with tears and sighs," weakly agreed to do for others what at the cost of his life he would not do for himself.[4]

—The preliminaries of an arrangement between the Pope and Henry were settled (April 11) at Ponte Mam-

Romam ire satagite.
Vestro sternenda gladio
Teutonicorum concio."

[1] *Chron. Cas., ib.*

[2] "Cum et agros Romanorum cotidie depopularet," etc. *Ann. Rom.*, and *Chron. Cas., ib.*, c. 40.

[3] "Cœpit (Henry) jurejurando firmare, quod nisi pontifex voluntatem suam implere morigeraret, et ipsum et omnes quos habebat in vinculis, alios interficeret, alios membris detruncaret." *Chron. Cas., ib. Cf.* Pandulf, p. 301, "A prædicto namque die . . . pontifex multis affectus est cruciatibus"; Suger, c. 9, "multo dedecore affligens."

[4] *Ann. Rom.*, p. 342; Pandulf, p. 301; *Chron. Cas., ib.*; Donizo, ii. 18. "Metuens mortem paterentur ne simul omnes."

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molo,[1] where the Via Tiburtina (or Valeria) crossed the Anio, which at this time separated the German army from the Romans.[2] Paschal agreed not to trouble Henry on account of the injuries he had received at his hands; to concede him the right of investiture; not to excommunicate him; to crown him as emperor, and, as far as in him lay, to maintain him in his imperial dignity.[3] Henry, on his side, swore to release the Pope and all he had taken prisoners, and to leave Rome in peace; to help Paschal to hold the Papacy; to restore what patrimonies of the Church he had seized; and to give him such obedience "as Catholic emperors are wont to render to Catholic Roman Pontiffs."[4]

There was still question of the formal signing by the Pope of the investiture concession, "that extorted portion of the agreement."[5] His seal was in Rome, and, as Henry did not wish this concession to be known there, a messenger was dispatched for it. Meanwhile the German troops moved further along the Tiburtine Road to the ninth milestone, where stood the Church[6] of St. Symphorosa and her seven sons. Here, no doubt, it was that Paschal said the Mass "Quasi modo geniti" (April 12), and gave "the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ" to Henry with the solemn words: "This Body of the Lord, which Holy

[1] Three miles from Rome. [2] *Ann. Rom.*

[3] *Ib.*, p. 342. *Cf.* Henry's version (*Relatio Cæsarea*) of this oath, ap. *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 274. The Pope would seem also to have agreed that the body of Henry IV. should be solemnly interred; for Ekkehard tells us that the burial took place "by apostolic authority," as certain German priests had assured the Pope of the late king's repentance.

[4] *Ann. Rom.* There is no mention of this in the *Relatio Cæsarea.*

[5] "Illa exactionis et extorsionis portio." *Ann. Rom.*

[6] Its ruins were discovered not many years ago near the osteria Tavernucole, and the ruined stronghold called Castell' Arcione. See Spence, *Early Christianity and Paganism*, p. 133 ff., London, 1902. Spence is both clear and interesting.

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Church holds, which was born of the Virgin Mary, which was raised on the cross for the redemption of the human race, this do I give thee, my dearest son, for the remission of thy sins, and for the preservation of the peace between me and thee, between the empire and the Papacy (*regnum et sacerdotium*); so that our Lord Jesus Christ, whose Body and Blood this is, may be the guardian and confirmer of true peace and concord between me and thee, and between the empire and the Papacy."[1]

It was evening before the papal seal was brought out from Rome. Meanwhile the terms of the investiture concession had been agreed upon in the German camp, pitched in a place which, from the adjoining Church of St. Symphorosa, was then known as "Septem Fratrum," and since as "Sette Fratte."[2] The German army then retraced its steps westward, made its way over to the Via Salaria, and crossed the Tiber near the Ponte Salario, *i.e.*, somewhere near the mouth of the Anio, with the object of working round Rome so as to enter the Leonine City. When at evening it had taken up its quarters at Octavum,[3] (which does not appear to be identified, but which must be sought in the Campus Neronis), a notary from Rome drew up the investiture agreement, which, "though unwillingly," Paschal signed.[4] This document set forth that Henry might have the privilege of investing with ring and crosier the

[1] The *Relatio Cæsarea.* [2] *Ann. Rom., ib.*

[3] After the description we have given of the marching and countermarching of the German army, Jaffé's suggestion, 6290 (4662), "apud *octavum millarium* a Roma," is untenable. *Cf.* the phrases "castra aput Octavum" and "ad castra in Campum," *i.e.*, Neronis; and the *Ann. Romani* note that when Henry had made peace with the Pope, he deposed Maginulf "in prata Neronis, . . . quia tunc erat in castra."

[4] "Accitus ab urbe scrinarius scriptum illud inter nocturnas tenebras exaravit. Cui . . . scripto . . . quamvis invitus pontifex subscripsit." *Ann. Rom.*, p. 343.

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bishops and abbots of the empire who had been elected without compulsion or simony.[1]

On the following day, Henry, "full of joy," again entered the Leonine City; and again was he received by the Pope and all the clergy at the Silver Gate of the basilica of St. Peter's. Then, after recitation of the prescribed prayer, he was conducted to the porphyry disc, and there, to quote the imperial account of this affair, "after the second prayer had been said, he was conducted, with the singing of the litanies, to the confession of the apostles Peter and Paul, and there anointed. Then with immense joy was he led by the Lord Pope to the altar of the same apostles, and by the imposition of the crown by the Pope was he consecrated emperor."[2] After he had been thus crowned, acting against "not only the will of the Pope, but against all custom," he put the investiture agreement into Paschal's hands, and there and then received it back from him.[3] He was anxious to make it appear that the Pope had granted it to him of his own free will.

Henry crowned emperor, April 13, 1111.

During the coronation all access from Rome to the Leonine City had been prevented. After the ceremony

[1] "Præsentis privilegii pagina confirmamus: ut regni tui episcopis vel abbatibus, libere præter violentiam et symoniam electis, investituram anuli et virgæ conferas." The *Relatio Cæsarea*, p. 277. *Cf. Chron. Cas.*, iv. 40.

[2] P. 276. This *Relatio Cæsarea* of the *Codex Udalrici*, printed by Jaffé ap. *Mon. Bamberg.*, is evidently an extract from the lost history of the Scot, David, bishop of Bangor. This is obvious from comparing it with the extracts from David's work given by William of Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, l. v. Malmesbury notes several times that David wrote "far more partially of the king than becomes an historian," and says, "he has written not a history, but a panegyric."

[3] *Ann. Rom.*, p. 343. Their author, shortly after narrating this fact, tells us that he was an eye-witness of all he relates. "Hec sicut passi sumus et oculis nostris vidimus et auribus nostris audivimus, mera veritate prescripsimus." The imperial account (*l.c.*) simply says that just before the Communion, Paschal gave Henry the document "with his own hand."

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was over, the new emperor returned to his camp in the Neronian fields (*ad castra in Campum*), while the Pope, once more free, crossed the Tiber into Rome with his cardinals and bishops. He was received by so great a concourse of delighted people that it was not till evening that he reached the island of the Tiber, safe under the protection of the Frangipani.[1]

Henry did not remain much longer in Italy. On May 6 he was at Bianello, where he had an interview with the Countess Matilda, whom he seems to have deceived with regard to his treatment of Paschal.[2] Leaving her his regent in *Liguria* (*i.e.*, Lombardy), he crossed the Alps before the end of May, and in August solemnly interred the body of his father in the cathedral of Spires.[3]

The Pope's action denounced throughout Christendom.

But neither the weakness of the Pope, nor the violence of the emperor, was to remain unpunished. Paschal felt the first darts of retribution. Wherever his concession to Henry became known, it forthwith evoked a storm of indignation among all who, since the days of Gregory VII., had toiled and suffered for the reformation of the Church. So strongly did the party of reform feel on the subject, that Paschal was denounced by many as if he were a heretic. Many spoke as though the concession he had granted to the emperor in a matter that concerned ecclesiastical discipline were a declaration of formal heresy.

One of the first to speak out was Bruno of Asti, bishop of Segni, and for some time abbot of Monte Cassino, the friend of Hildebrand, and the biographer of St. Leo IX. In conjunction with a number of cardinals and of bishops of different countries, he called upon the Pope to annul

[1] *Ann. Rom.*, and Jaffé, 6291 (4663). [2] Donizo, ii. 18.

[3] Ekk., and *Annal. Hild.*, 1111. If anyone is anxious to see the treachery and violence of Henry defended, and even his seizure of the Pope justified (pronounced "notwendig und richtig"), let him read Richter's *Annalen*, an. 1111.

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the privilege he had granted to Henry, and to excommunicate him. After assuring the Pope of his love for him, he continued: "But I cannot approve of that treaty made with such violence and treachery, and opposed to all piety and religion; nor, as I learn from many, do you yourself. Who, indeed, can approve of a treaty which violates the faith, destroys the Church's freedom, and deprives her of her priesthood by shutting the only door, viz., that of the Church, by which it can be entered?"[1]

John, the cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, who had made such heroic efforts to rescue the Pope when he was first seized, convoked a number of cardinals and bishops, and called on him in their name to undo at once what he had done so unfortunately.[2] In France, where the full facts of the case would not at first be very well known, the unhappy Pope sank very low in the general estimation. Bishops, abbots, and councils not only declared his concessions null, but loudly proclaimed that he ought to have been ready to suffer death "rather than yield anything to the secular power contrary to justice and to the decrees of the Fathers."[3] So heated did the French clergy become over this affair that it became necessary for the famous canonist, Ivo of Chartres, to remind them that "it was no business of theirs to pass judgment on the supreme Pontiff."[4]

[1] Ep. Brun., ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 463. *Cf. Chron. Cas.*, iv. 42, and vita Brunonis, *Acta SS.*, July 18, iv. 483.

[2] Ep. Pasch., 327. Though the Pope blames the assembly for its uncanonical doings, he promises to try and amend what he had been moved to do on account of the distress of his brethren.

[3] Ordericus, *H. E.*, x. c. i., an. 1111. See also the letters of Ivo of Chartres, who strove to prevent the Church in France from going too far in its opposition to the concessions of Paschal, *e.g.*, epp. 236, 237, ap. *P. L.*, t. 162. Though even he speaks of "quædam nefanda quibusdam nefandis scripta" (ep. 233). See, too, the impassioned letter (i. 7, ap. *P. L.*, t. 157) of that devoted servant of the Roman Church, Geoffrey of Vendôme.

[4] "Non est nostrum judicare de summo pontifice." Ep. 233.

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Even in Germany itself some of the bishops showed themselves openly hostile to the concordat which Henry had extorted from the Pope.[1] The monks of Hirschau are said to have declared that both Henry and Paschal ought to be deposed and excommunicated.[2] Other monks again, like those of St. Vanne of Verdun, broken-spirited by the thought that "the citadel of the Roman faith had surrendered," and by the gibes of their enemies that their sufferings for thirty years had come to naught, protested by their silence.[3]

Even the Emperor Alexius wrote to say that he was distressed at the violent captivity of the Pope, and endeavoured to improve the occasion by offering to the Pope either himself or his son as a candidate for the imperial crown in the West (1111).[4] Besides the first suggestion of definite opposition to Henry, the first strong action in this affair also took its origin in the East. Conon, formerly count of Urach, now cardinal-bishop of Palæstrina and papal legate in Jerusalem, "acting on the advice of his clergy, and inflamed with zeal for the glory of God, declared Henry excommunicated (1111). Subsequently, with the assent of their respective churches, he confirmed his

[1] "Quod autem *de episcopis* conquereris, cor nostrum vehementer angustat. Ex quo enim vobiscum illam, quam nostis pactionem fecimus, non solum longius positi sed ipsi etiam qui circa nos sunt, cervicem adversus nos errexerunt," etc. Ep. Pasch., 331, ad Henricum, October 26, 1111.

[2] "Ambos damnandos et ab ecclesia removendos." See the metrical complaint lodged against them before Henry by the monks of Lorsch, ap. *Chron. Laureshamense*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxi. p. 431.

[3] "Quia turris Romanæ fidei cesserat, nullus eorum fuit qui aperiet os." *Gesta epp. Virdun.*, c. 18, ap. *P. L.*, t. 204, by Lawrence, a monk of Liège; fl. 1144.

[4] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 46; and letters of Alexius to the abbot of Monte Cassino (ap. Tosti, *Storia di M. Cas.*, ii. 95), and of the abbot of Farfa to Henry V. (ap. *Mon. Bamb.*, p. 289). *Cf.* Chalandon, *Alexis*, p. 260 ff., for this affair and for the negotiations to which it gave rise.

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sentence in five councils, in Greece, Hungary, Saxony, Lorraine, and France."[1]

The year 1111, then, which had witnessed Henry's triumph, did not close without giving abundant evidence of the rise of a flood which would sweep it away completely.

Paschal endeavours to stand by the concordat.

At first Paschal endeavoured to check the rising flood of indignant repudiation of his concordat. He rebuked with severity some of his critics, and even punished others.[2] But when to the well-deserved reproaches of those who were loyal both to him and the Church was added the faithlessness of Henry in fulfilling his side of the concordat,[3] he could not stand his ground. In despair he put off the insignia of his office, and fled to the desert island of Ponza[4] (autumn 1111), famous in the history of the early martyrs of Christianity. But he was not to be allowed to withdraw from the combat. Men knew his goodness, and they feared a schism. The voice of the Church recalled him to his post[5] (October 1111).

[1] Ekk., an. 1116.

[2] Epp. 328–330 against Bruno of Signi; *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 42.

[3] Epp. 319, 320, 331. In ep. 320 he complains that restitution has not been made him of various possessions belonging to the Roman Church. He names: "Civita Castellana, Castrum Corcoli, Montalto, Mons Acutus (?), Narni; the *counties* of Perugia, Gubbio, Todi, Bagnorea, and Castrum Felicitatis (Citta di Castello, the ancient Tifernum Tibernium); the duchy of Spoleto, and the march of Ferrara."

[4] Suger, *vit. Lud.*, c. 9; Hildeberti, ep. ii. 22, ap. *P. L.*, t. 171, p. 235; *Hist. pont. Engolis.*, by a canon who flourished in 1159, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. 823. Ponza is some thirty miles south-west of Gaeta.

[5] "Renuntians domo, patriæ, rebus, officio, mortificandus in carne, Pontianam insulam commigravit. . . . Populi vocibus, et cardinalium lacrymis revocatus in cathedram." Hildeb., *l.c.* *Cf.* Suger, *l.c.*

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CHAPTER V.

THE CONTINUATION OF THE INVESTITURE STRUGGLE WITH HENRY V. TILL PASCHAL'S DEATH.

Paschal withdraws his concession to Henry.

THAT there was nothing for it but that he should revoke his concession was impressed upon Paschal not only by the indignant protests of Richard, cardinal-bishop of Albano; of Guy, archbishop of Vienne, afterwards Calixtus II.; and of all those who were regarded as "the columns of the Transalpine"[1] and Cisalpine Churches, but especially by the action of the imperial party in Germany. Henry was not content with simply sending copies of the concordat all over his kingdom, but he suffered his nobles to anticipate the Erastian Protestants of the sixteenth century. They went about proclaiming that Henry was at once king and pontiff, and that it was within his right to make and unmake bishops.[2] Paschal accordingly summoned a council to deal with the affair.

The Lateran council, March 18–23, 1112.

On March 18, 1112, there met together about one hundred and twenty-six bishops and cardinals,[3] a number of abbots, and a very large number of the inferior clergy

[1] "Interea qui erant principes in exercitu Dei, Richardus Albanensis et Guido, post papa, tunc archiepiscopus Viennensis, aliæque similes columpnæ Transalpinæ ecclesiæ . . . simul collecti conclamaverunt, ad erigendam et fulciendam Romanæ ecclesiæ turrim . . . se . . . applicuerunt, . . . data privilegia pravilegia rectius vocantes." *Hist. epp. Virdun.*, c. 18.

[2] "Eum regem pariter et summum sacerdotem (quod nec apud ullos hereticos dictum invenitur) prædicasse, ejus juris esse ut præsules faciat vel deponat." *Ib.*

[3] Among those present were the cardinal-bishops Conon of Præneste and John of Tusculum, Guy of Vienne, or more probably his representative, etc.

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and laymen. The Pope explained to the assembled Fathers how he and a number of his clergy had been seized by Henry; how, against his better judgment, but under compulsion, and to free his brethren, he had conceded to Henry the right of investiture, and had promised not to excommunicate him on that count; and how, although Henry had not fulfilled his side of the compact, he could not excommunicate him, but he could and did condemn the privilege he had granted him. Following the lead of the Pope, the assembly, leaving Henry alone, declared the privilege null and void.[1] Throughout all the deliberations of this synod, Paschal's "demeanour, free from hatred towards the perjured Henry, . . . gives him claim to the rare title of a true priest, and we venture to think that his attitude was due to Christian conviction, and not alone to fear."[2]

Though this action of the council was enough to alarm Henry's supporters in Italy, and to cause them to beg him to come there at once with an army before opposition to him had become overwhelming,[3] it did not satisfy the party of reform. Not content with the dispatch of Bishop Gerard of Angoulême formally to notify the sentence of the council to Henry,[4] Guy, archbishop of Vienne, Paschal's legate in France, with the Pope's permission, and the encouragement of the French king,[5] summoned the bishops of the various provinces of France to meet him at Vienne. The outcome of the deliberations of the council was that

Henry is excommunicated in France, Sept. 15, 1112.

[1] *Cf.* the *acts* of the council, ap. Watterich, ii. 73 ff.; or Boso, *in vit. Pasch.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 369 ff. *Cf.* ep. 332; for its true date, Jaffé, 6325 (4678). *Cf.* 6313.

[2] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 358.

[3] *Cf.* the letters of the bishop of Acqui, and of the abbot of Farfa, ap. *Mon. Bamb.*, p. 287 ff.

[4] *Hist. pont. Engolis.*, c. 35, ap. Watterich, ii. 78.

[5] Suger, *vit. Lud.*, c. 9.

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Henry was solemnly excommunicated by name for his base seizure of the Pope, and for his extorting the investiture concession from him.[1] Paschal was then earnestly implored to confirm their action;[2] and as "most of the princes and nearly all the people," say the Fathers of the council, "think with us on this matter, do you enjoin them all to help us if need should arise." In conclusion, "with due reverence," but certainly with no little firmness, they assure the Pope of their obedience if he confirms their action and abstains from all further intercourse with "the most cruel tyrant," but if he does not, then, they conclude: "May God have pity on us, because you will force us to abandon our subjection to you."[3]

Effects of the excommunication.

It may be easily imagined that this vigorous action was not without its effect. From Paschal, who ceased not to proclaim that his views of the evil of the practice of investiture had never changed, and that dire necessity alone had wrung from him an approval of it,[4] it compelled a prompt approval of what the council had done (October 1112);[5] and in Germany it caused a gradual alienation from Henry, both of the people and of the nobles.[6] When later we have to chronicle the emperor's second entry into Italy (1116), we shall then relate how the repetition of the sentence of excommunication against him, and how his

[1] See the synodal letter of the council to the Pope, ap. Watterich, ii. 76 f.

[2] *Ib.* "Vestram . . . majestatem suppliciter exoramus ut quod . . . fecimus, auctoritate Apostolica solemniter confirmetis."

[3] "Si . . . assertiones prædictas roborare nolueritis, propitius sit nobis Deus, quia nos a vestra subjectione et obedientia repellitis." *Ib.*, or ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 465.

[4] Jaffe, 6326, 6327.

[5] Ep. 348. "Quæ statuta sunt ibi rata suscipimus et confirmamus."

[6] Ekk., 1112. Labouring under a mistake, Ekkehard says that to the decrees of Vienne there was apparently wanting "the authority of the Pope, and hence of the whole Church," and he adds that they produced but little effect: "quia cœptum ejus (the action of Guy of Vienne)

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constant illegal treatment of the nobility of the empire, gradually undermined his power.

Paschal among the Normans, 1112–1113.

After he had thus expressed his adhesion to the decrees of Vienne, Paschal enjoyed three or four years of comparative peace. But even during that period he was worried with anxiety about Benevento, which, owing to internal dissensions[1] and to the machinations of a party of the Normans who were anxious to obtain possession of it, was kept in a state of unrest both within and without. Paschal, at the request of its people, visited it in the winter of 1112–1113, and, after punishing the malcontents, set over it as "constable" a skilled soldier, Landulf de Græca.[2] But even this did not suffice to restore order, and the Pope found it necessary to depose the archbishop of Benevento, in order to support his governor. This he did at a council held at Ceprano (October 1114), where he invested Duke William, the son of Duke Roger I., and grandson of Robert Guiscard, with Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily.[3]

The following year (1115) was distinguished by the death of the great Countess Matilda (July 24). She died as she had lived, full of the liveliest faith and of the most burning love of our Lord. "Kissing the crucifix, she cried:

apostolica indeque omni æcclesiastica auctoritate videbatur carere parum interim potuit vigere." But he goes on to say that they did nevertheless begin to tell by degrees, and that they furnished a pretext for such as wished to oppose the king.

[1] These were caused by certain factions who wished to elect a governor of the city "without the consent of the Lord Pope." Falco, *Chron.*, 1112.

[2] Falco, *Chron.*, 1112, 1113.

[3] Falco, *ib.*, 1114; *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 49; Romuald of Salerno, 1115. The investiture of Sicily "only implied the suzerainty over that island, which was held as a sub-fief from the Church by Roger II., son of Roger called the Great, count of Sicily, and brother of Robert Guiscard. Roger II. afterwards united all the conquests of his family, and was the first king of the Two Sicilies." Montalembert, *Monks*, vii. 469.

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'Thee, my Lord, have I ever worshipped; now, I beg Thee, wash away my sins.' And after she had received Christ's revered Body, she uttered these her last words: 'Thou knowest, my God, that ever during my life my hope has been in Thee; now, when it is o'er, take me, I beseech Thee, and save me.'"[1]

Paschal realised at once that Matilda's death meant a second coming of Henry into Italy; he felt that he would never allow her inheritance to pass quietly to the Roman Church, as she had willed that it should.[2] He must, therefore, make further efforts to put an end to the dissensions which were rendering the Norman power in south Italy ineffective, and quite unable to afford him any solid support against Henry. Proceeding, therefore, immediately into Apulia, he partially succeeded in effecting his object; for in a council at Troia (August 1115), he induced the barons of those parts to promise to observe the Truce of God for three years.[3] But the promises were not kept; and when Henry made his second descent into Italy, the Normans were in no position to help the Pope.[4]

Henry's difficulties in Germany.

Paschal was not mistaken in his conjecture that the death of Matilda would bring Henry once again over the Alps. Other causes, however, had also been at work to make the emperor desirous of entering Italy. His affairs in Germany had come into such an evil case that he was glad to leave it.[5]

[1] "In cruce nam Christo sua figens oscula dixit:
Te colui semper, mea nunc rogo crimina terge.
Accipiens Christi corpus venerabile dixit:
Semper dum vixi, Deus, hoc scis, spem tibi fixi."
Donizo, ii. 20.

[2] *Cf. supra*, vii. p. 129. [3] Falco, 1115.

[4] Chalandon, *La dom. nor.*, i. 317 ff.

[5] "Propter asperos in se motus regni, ad Italiam secedit, et terram Mathildis . . . jure propinquitatis occupat." *Annal. Leodiensis*, 1116, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv.

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When he had returned to Germany after his imperial coronation (1111), he soon gave evidence that he possessed the same tyrannical instincts as his father. His arbitrary interference with the privileges of the nobility, both ecclesiastical and lay, alienated many of them from him ;[1] and his excommunication by the French episcopate began gradually to make itself felt. One of those who, influenced by the latter cause, began to bestir himself against him was his once chief adviser and prime favourite, the chancellor Adalbert, chancellor of the empire and now archbishop-designate of Mainz.[2] Grievances, real or imaginary, drove the Count Palatine Sigfried and the Saxons to arms. The whole empire was soon in a state of unrest.[3] But by the year 1114 the emperor's arms were everywhere in the ascendant. This, and his marriage with Matilda of England (January 6, 1114), seemed to render his position secure. He could not, however, refrain from dishonourable and arbitrary acts.[4] As a consequence, the peace of the empire was promptly and seriously broken. Even at his marriage "many of the princes attended in sullen fear, and

[1] *Cf.* Montalembert, *Monks*, vii. 445 ff. Honorius, a priest, who wrote before 1137, says : "In sacerdotes Domini et principes crudeliter grassatur." *Sumana totius hist.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, x. p. 131.

[2] Ekk., 1112. *Cf.* Helmold, *Chron. Slav.*, i. 40.

[3] "Hæc et his similia scandalorum zizania murmur infinitum in nuper pacato regno suscitant." Ekk., *l.c.*

[4] *E.g.*, his seizure of Louis, count of Thuringia, who had come to grace his sovereign's marriage. *Cron. S. Petri Erford.*, an. 1114. "Quæ res," add the Annals of Hildesheim, 1114, "multos principium contra regem exacuit." *Cf.* Anselm's continuation of Sigebert of Gemblours, an. 1115. "Heinricus imperator dum quicquid libet licere putavit *magnas regni pene totius inimicitias* comparavit." Anselm (†1136) especially emphasises Henry's treacherous and arbitrary imprisonments of Adalbert and others whom "sine audientia et judicio custodiæ mancipaverat. Heinricus *Imp.* insolentiæ suæ modum nesciens imponere, omnes principes Saxoniæ, censu inaudito cunctis indicto, vehementer infestabat." Hence they rise in rebellion. *Annales Pegavienses*, an. 1114, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.

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for the most part took themselves off without waiting for his permission."[1] But they did not separate before they had arranged for a rising.[2] This time Henry's arms were not so successful. The imperial troops suffered several defeats even in the year 1114. To add to his difficulties, the bishops who were still faithful to the idea of reform became more active,[3] and the excommunication which had been pronounced against him in distant Jerusalem and in France, began at length to be published in Germany itself. The energetic Conon is said to have declared Henry excommunicated at a council held in Cologne (April 19, 1115),[4] and a little later in the same year another papal legate, Dietrich (Theodoric), repeated the declaration at Goslar.[5]

He goes to Italy, 1116.

Twice failing to induce the princes to treat with him, compelled by the citizens of Mainz to release their archbishop, and hearing that his excommunication had again been solemnly proclaimed at Cologne (Christmas 1115),[6] Henry decided to leave Germany, and raise money for a fresh campaign against the rebellious princes by seizing the property of the late Countess Matilda.[7] He entered Italy in March (1116), but this time with only a small

[1] *Cron. Erf.*, *l.c.* [2] Otto Frising, *Chron.*, vii. 15.

[3] See the ardent letter of Frederick, archbishop of Cologne, to Bishop Otho of Bamberg, ap. *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 294. The letter belongs to about January 1115. There is no question of zeal for souls, he wrote; it is all a matter of filling the insatiable maw of the imperial treasury. "De animarum lucris nulla penitus quæstio est, dum tantum terrenis lucris regalis fisci os insaciabile repleatur."

[4] *Chron. Montis Dei*, ap. Watterich, ii. 82. *Cf.* the letter of Henry to the bishop of Ratisbon, ap. *Mon. Bamb.*, p. 313 ff.

[5] Ekk., and *Ann. Hildesh.*, 1115.

[6] Ekk., 1115 and 1116; *Ann. Hild.*, 1115.

[7] "Heinricus *Imp.* in Italiam secedit propter asperos motus regni, et maxime propter marchisæ Mathildis cognatæ suæ . . . hereditatem, quæ sibi jure competebat optinendam." Anselm of Gemblours, *Chron.*, 1116. *Cf.* Ekk., 1116.

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army. The majority of the princes had no thought of accompanying him.

The property of the Countess Matilda.

On his arrival in Italy, Henry found that it was still more or less true that, owing to the fear his first visit had inspired, Lombardy was even yet devoted to him.[1] He seems to have had no difficulty in possessing himself of the inheritance of Matilda. But what that inheritance was, and on what grounds he claimed it, are questions more easily asked than answered. It seems to be generally supposed that he claimed Matilda's allodial possessions on the plea of his relationship to her, and her fiefs as her emperor. His relationship to her was, however, very distant, and could not for a moment have been rightfully urged in opposition to her deeds of gift, by which she had made over her estates to the Roman Church. By seizing Matilda's allodial possessions, then, Henry showed himself a royal robber. And in those days, when fiefs had practically become hereditary, had he any right to take Matilda's fiefs into his own hands? Ought he not to have allowed the Pope to inherit them, as the other bishops of the empire received the fiefs which had been held of the emperor by their predecessors? Whatever answer be given to these questions, it remains to be stated that it cannot be shown that Henry ever claimed the fiefs of Matilda because he was her suzerain. His relationship to her seems to be the only claim that he put forward to anything and everything that had belonged to her.[2] Un-

[1] "Vestra est enim adhuc Longobardia, dum terror, quem ei incussistis, in corde ejus vivit," wrote Azo, bishop of Acqui, to Henry in 1112; ap. *Mon. Bamb.*, p. 288.

[2] Ekkehard says that on the death of Matilda: "Ejus prediorum terras amplissimas *hæreditario jure* possidendas cæsarem invitant (ab Italia nuntii)." An. 1115. *Cf.* Anselm of Gemblours; see above, n. 7. The conclusion of Donizo's poem has reference to the occupation of Canossa by Henry.

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fortunately, it is not clear which parts of north Italy, over so much of which she had ruled, were her allodial possessions, and which were imperial fiefs. There is equal uncertainty as to what she wished to make over to the Church of Rome, and indeed as to what exactly she had control over on any count whatsoever. A contemporary document says she was "Duchess of Tuscany and of Lombardy, of the Marks or Marches of Spoleto and Camerino, and of all the country between the Adriatic, on which are the cities of Ravenna and Venice, to the other sea, on which is the city of Pisa, and to the city of Sutri near Rome."[1]

Had Paschal succeeded to the dominion of Matilda, as here outlined, then, having personal control over the patrimony of St. Peter from Radicofani to Ceprano, and being at the same time suzerain of south Italy and Sicily, he would have been the ruler of nearly the whole of the Italian peninsula. His sway would have extended from beyond Mantua in the north to the extreme point of Calabria; and the twelfth century would have seen a united Italy under the suzerainty of the Pope—a state of things to which even to-day many look forward as the best solution of the "Roman question." But with his mailed hand Henry had grasped the lands of Matilda, so that Paschal did not inherit an acre of them. And it was a long time before any of the Popes received the least practical benefit from the Countess Matilda's generous donation in their behalf.[2]

Council at the Lateran, March 1116.

About the same time that Henry entered Italy, the Pope held a council at the Lateran, in order to show the emperor by its decrees that he was resolved to stand by

[1] Ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. 93.

[2] On the beneficial influence of this donation on the formation of the communes, see Tosti, *La Contessa Matilda*, p. 223 ff.

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the policy of his predecessors. The privilege which had been granted to Henry was condemned at Paschal's own request, after he had explained that he had in a weak moment given his consent to it in order to bring to an end the cruel treatment which was being inflicted on the Church. When, however, some wished to have the privilege declared heretical, Paschal sprang up and, demanding silence, exclaimed: "This Church has never been guilty of heresy, nay, has ever condemned it. . . . It was for this Church that the Son of God prayed in His Passion when he said, 'I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not'" (St. Luke xxii. 32).[1] But before the Pope himself could take any action, the strenuous opposition of Henry's ambassadors had to be overcome; for no sooner had the emperor established himself in the north of Italy than he sent ambassadors to Rome "to make an earnest effort to settle the differences which had again begun to disturb the relations between the Papacy and the empire."[2] The chief of the embassy was Pontius, abbot of Cluny, said to have been a relation of Paschal. Receiving support from John of Gaeta, Pierleone, and the prefect of the city, the abbot strove to prevent matters from going any further; but to no purpose.

Paschal formally condemned both those who gave and those who received investiture, and definitely approved of the strong measures which had been taken by Conon.[3] This being the case, it is impossible to regard Henry's

[1] Ekk., 1116.

[2] This is Ekkehard's euphemistic statement, an. 1116: "Legatos ad Apostolicum pro componendis causis, quæ iterum regnum et sacerdotium disturbare cœperunt, suppliciter destinavit." *Cf.* ep. Heinrici, ap. *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 313.

[3] *Ib.* The abbot Suger was present at this council, and tells us that he himself heard the Pope condemn the privilege. He sets down the number of bishops present at this council as over 300. *Vit. Lud.*, c. 9.

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assertion[1] that, in response to his embassy, Paschal repudiated the action of Conon and Theodoric, as other than false.

The affair of the new prefect, 1116.

The Lateran council had not been broken up many days when an event occurred at Rome which played into Henry's hands most opportunely.[2] Peter, the city prefect, died at the end of March, and it was the wish of Paschal that he should be succeeded by a son of Pierleone II.,[3] the powerful supporter of the Popes. But before even the dead prefect had been buried, a number of irresponsible persons, without consulting the more important citizens,[4] elected to succeed him his son, a mere boy, also named Peter. To compel Paschal to confirm their election, they burst into the Lateran basilica, where he was consecrating the Holy Oils (Holy Thursday, March 30), and, placing their youthful candidate with rent garments between the altar and the Pope's episcopal chair, they clamoured for his immediate confirmation. A request so preferred, received the refusal it deserved. But Peter's supporters were not to be put off. They pushed their candidate's claims among the people even on Good Friday, when, says the papal biographer, it was the general custom, especially at Rome, for people to go barefoot round "the cemeteries of the martyrs" and other holy places.[5] On Easter Monday,

[1] In the letter to the bishop of Ratisbon just cited, ap. *Mon. Bamb.*, p. 313.

[2] Pandulf (p. 301) dates the event in the seventeenth year of Paschal, and in the first month of the tenth year of his extraordinary *peace*.

[3] The first Pierleone was the convert of Pope St. Leo IX. "Romani audierant quod Petrus, filius Leonis, apostolici consilio, filium suum præfectum ordinare vellet." Falco, an. 1116. Besides Falco, the chief authorities for this prefect-incident are Pandulf and the *Annales Romani*.

[4] So speaks Pandulf, *l.c.*

[5] With Pandulf, pp. 302 and 308, *cf. Ordo Romanus XI.* of the almost contemporary Canon Benedict, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, pp. 1040–1041.

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when, in accordance with custom, the Pope rode from the Lateran to hold "a station" at St. Peter's, the would-be prefect presented himself before him at the bridge of St. Angelo, and again to no purpose asked for confirmation. Enraged at the refusal, the infuriated youth and his party insulted the Pope's escort, and even seized some of them. And when, on the completion of the "station," Paschal was returning to the Lateran in solemn state, with his crown on his head, as was usual on that day,[1] and, after having passed the Church of St. Mark, was moving along the Clivus Argentarius (Via di Marforio) at the foot of the Capitol, he was again assailed with insolent clamour and even with stones.[2]

Both parties flew to arms, and called for their friends to come from their castles in the Campagna to help them. Fighting took place in every part of the city, and many were the fortified houses with their towers which were levelled with the ground. Delighted to hear of the turmoil, the emperor took care to help it on by sending large sums of money to the party which was opposed to the Pope.[3] Finding that his position in the Lateran was unsafe, Paschal took refuge in the Septizonium, which in the days of Gregory VII. had already been converted into a fortress.[4] Thence he fled to Albano (April 8), and, after a brief return to St. Angelo and the Trastevere, he continued his flight, first to Sezza, the ancient Setia, on the east of the Pontine Marches, and then back again to the

[1] In this age it was the custom of the sovereigns in Europe to wear their crowns in solemn state several times a year.

[2] Pandulf.

[3] "His auditis Heinricus . . . quia non bene cum Papa conveniebat, xenia imperialia Urbis præfecto et Romanis transmisit." *Chron. Cas.*, l. iv. c. 60.

[4] The *Ann. Rom.* speak of it as a fortress belonging to the monastery on the Clivus Scauri. The Pope fled "aput monasterium clivi Scauri in ejus munitiones, que dicitur sedem solis."

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Trastevere. On his first return to the Trastevere he had endeavoured to secure the loyalty of some of the nobles by presents. He even invested Ptolemy of Tusculum with the town of Aricia. But many of these men were devoid of either honour or conscience; and a victory of the papal troops outside Rome was enough to cause Ptolemy to forget all that had been done for him, and to turn with successful treachery on his benefactor.[1]

The perjury and victory of Ptolemy was the signal for a wholesale defection from the Pope, both in the city and in the Campagna. Sermoneta, Ninfa, and Tiberia[2] and the whole Maritima fell away from him; and in Rome a furious but fruitless attack was made on the Theatre of Marcellus and the towers about it, which formed the powerful fortress of his ally, Pierleone II. The return of Paschal to Rome with a body of troops put an end to the assault, and restored peace to the city[3] (August 1116).

Henry invited to Rome.

Utterly discomfited, "the *prefect and the consuls*" sent to beg Henry to march on Rome.[4] Readily accepting the invitation, the emperor moved southwards as soon as the winter (1116–1117) was over.[5] Fighting began the moment

[1] Falco's narrative (*l.c.*) explains that of Pandulf, which is anything but clear. The Pope was in St. Angelo during May; at Sezza and Piperno in June and July; and was back again in the Trastevere in October 1116. There he remained till the approach of the emperor caused him to retire to Monte Cassino (*c.* February 1117). *Cf.* Jaffé, 6522, 6530, etc.

[2] Some would identify this place with Tevera or Tivera, a little to the north of Ninfa, where stood the abbey of St. Angelo.

[3] "Apostolicus . . . militibus collectis, Romam ingressus est . . . Romanorumque cœtus . . . fere ad ejus imperium conversus est." Falco, 1116.

[4] "Prefectus et *consules* miserunt legatos ad imp. H. IV. ut Romam venisset." *Ann. Rom.*, 1116.

[5] He gave out that one of his objects in going to Rome was to make peace between the Pope and the Romans. Ep. Heinrici, ap. *Mon. Bamb.*, p. 314.

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he entered Latium. The lands of the Pope's friends were ravaged and their castles stormed.[1] Paving the way with gold beforehand,[2] Henry entered the city along with the queen in triumph (*c.* March 1117).

Henry is crowned in Rome, 1117.

Naturally wishful to wear his crown in Rome, Henry was faced by the difficulty that there was no one left in the city solemnly to place it on his head. Paschal had fled on his approach.[3] He therefore tried to induce some of the cardinals who had remained behind, under the shelter of the strong castle of Pierleone II., to perform the desired function. As, however, he refused to give up his claim to invest with the crosier and the ring, they would not treat with him.[4] He prevailed, however, on Maurice Bourdin, archbishop of Braga, and afterwards an antipope, who had come to Rome in order to defend the rights of his see, to perform the coronation ceremony for him. Crossing the Tiber by boat, because, through the castles of St. Angelo and that of the Theatre of Marcellus, Pierleone II. had control of the bridges of St. Angelo and of the island,[5] Henry made his way with what state he could to St. Peter's. There Bourdin, as though not daring to impose the crown upon him in the proper place, before the *confession* of St. Peter, crowned him in the chapel of St. Gregory (March 25).[6] Then the newly crowned monarch, after investing by the sceptre (*per aquilam*) the

[1] Pandulf, p. 303 ; ep. 498.

[2] "Data pecunia, maxima pars . . . Romanorum ei fidelitatem fecerunt." *Ann. Rom.* "Fit ei processio, empta quam indicta." Pandulf, *l.c.* ; *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 61.

[3] Henry (ep. cit.) pretended that the Pope had fled "from fear of the people."

[4] With Pandulf *cf.* Henry's letter just cited.

[5] *I.e.* the Pons Judæorum, or the Ponte Quattro Capi.

[6] Pandulf, etc. The day of the coronation is not quite certain ; still, the date given seems a fair deduction from *Chron. Cas.* and the other authorities.

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youthful disturber Peter with the prefectship, commenced his return march.[1]

Maurice is excommunicated.

A demonstration against him in some force on the part of the Normans can scarcely be said to have been successful.[2] Still, as Henry could not remain to enforce his authority either in Rome or south of it, the extent of that authority may be easily estimated. His accomplice Bourdin was excommunicated by Paschal at a council in Benevento[3] (April 1117). The towns that had revolted were brought back to a sense of their duty, and in some cases punished severely. Ninfa saw its walls demolished and had to agree not to rebuild them without the Pope's permission.[4]

Paschal returns to Rome, and dies, 1118.

But Paschal's days were numbered. In the autumn (1117) he retired to Anagni, and there nearly died. Recovering, however, a little strength, he not merely dedicated the present cathedral of Prænestе,[5] but accepted

[1] *Ann. Rom.* [2] *Chron. Cas.*, and Pandulf, *ll.cc.*

[3] Falco, and *Ann. Benevent.*, 1117.

[4] Papa "rediens in Campaniam Pillum, etc., in sui ditionem convertit." Pandulf, p. 305. Cencius (*Liber cens.*, i. p. 407, ed. Fabre) has preserved the treaty made with the people of Ninfa. They were to take the oath of fidelity to P. Paschal "and to his successors whom the more worthy (*meliores*) cardinals and the Romans might elect." "Hostem et parlamentum, cum curia perceperit. Servitium quod assueti fuerunt facere et placetum et bannum fatiant b. Petro et pape." They had to pay the quarter of wheat according to the measure of the Roman *modius* (peck); and, if commanded so to do, they had to lead it to Tiberia or Cisterna. The *glandaticum* (tax for the pasturage of swine) had to be paid on the feast of St. Martin, and fat hams (*bonos bradones*) on the feast of St. Thomas. Six denarii were exacted for the cargo of every ferty-boat (*sandalum*), and a tribute of 30 lbs. of silver of Pavia (*fidantiam libras* 30 *de Papia bonas*) was to be paid each May. The market dues (*platiaticum*) they received from strangers had to be sent to the papal curia. The *foderum* (fodder, food for men and horses) which they owed the Pope for one day, they were in future to provide for two days. They were to leave undisturbed the Pope's mills, and not rebuild their walls without leave.

[5] Pandulf, *l.c.* The tablet signed G. G. Aurifex, commemorating this dedication, is still extant. *L. P.*, ii. 310.

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the invitation of Peter Colonna and Raynald Senebaldi and others of his party to return to Rome. His first care, on re-entering the city (January 14), was to prepare engines of war (*tormenta, balistæ cum fundibulariis*) to drive the prefect's party out of the basilica of St. Peter. Death, however, overtook him in a house close to the castle of St. Angelo before he could accomplish his design (January 21, 1118).[1]

When he felt that his hour was come, he called the cardinals around him, and bade them follow him in love of the faith and truth, and detest schism and "the Teutonic enormity." Then "having confessed his sins, received extreme unction, and done all that becomes a good man to do, singing with those who were singing around him, at midnight, like one who was passing from darkness to the light, the holy old man paid the debt of all flesh." After the body had been embalmed, "as the *Ordo* prescribes," and clad in the sacred vestments, it was carried by the cardinals themselves to the Lateran basilica,[2] as St. Peter's was in the hands of the prefect, and placed in a mausoleum of the purest marble.[3] His funeral took place on the day after his death.

Despite his unsettled reign, he not only consecrated twenty churches in Rome, and in different parts of Italy and France, but he completely restored the ancient church of the Quattro Coronati on the Celian, which had been destroyed in the fire of Robert Guiscard.[4]

There are still to be seen a number of very small coins Coins and arms.

[1] Pandulf, and *Ann. Rom.*

[2] "Quia consules non permiserunt eum in bas. b. Petri sepelliry (sic)." *Ann. Rom.*

[3] Pandulf. His mausoleum was near that of Pope Agapetus II., and was in the south transept. *Cf.* John the Deacon, *Lib. de eccles. Lat.*, c. 8, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1386.

[4] Pandulf.

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stamped only on one side. Round the coin runs the name "Paschalis," preceded by a cross, and in its centre is the Roman numeral II. It has been doubted whether they are really coins; but Promis[1] believes the doubt has been set at rest by the discovery of a number of similar pieces showing two keys, the sign of the rule of the Roman Church, and the word "Beneventus," preceded by a cross, running round them. Both these sets of coins, then, will have been struck at Benevento in the year 1101.

Though the coins which are ascribed to Paschal II. are no doubt his, the same cannot be said of the arms set down as his by Ciacconius. They are almost certainly not his; for he would seem to have mistaken the monogram of Paschal I. for the arms of Paschal II.[2]

[1] *Monete dei R. Pont.*, p. 99.

[2] *Cf.* Frassoni, *Essai d'armorial des Papes*, p. 13, Rome, 1906. He gives as the arms of the Ranieri of the Romagna: "Un dextrochère paré de gueules tenant un arbre de sinople mouvant d'un mont de trois coupeaux d'or sur champ d'argent."

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Small Coin of Paschal II.
(From a cast of the coin in the Vatican.)
The drawing in the centre shows the actual size of the coin.

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CHAPTER VI.

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND SPAIN.

IN treating of the different countries with which Paschal had important relations, we will begin with England, not only because the investiture quarrel which agitated the whole of Paschal's reign was there first settled by a satisfactory compromise, but also because, as Paschal himself stated, "the kingdom of the English was especially linked to the Apostolic See by love and obedience."[1]

Anselm returns to England, 1100.

The confusion caused in England by the sudden death of Rufus (August 2, 1100), and the seizure of the kingdom by Henry, to the exclusion of his elder brother Robert, duke of Normandy, evoked a general wish for the return of Anselm. In response to a joint appeal from king and people, the archbishop left France and landed in England on September 23, 1100.[2] His return was Henry's salvation. Through his influence the designs of Robert from without, and of discontented nobles within, were brought to naught, and Henry felt safe on his throne.

The beginning of the investiture quarrel between Anselm and Henry.

To win his crown Henry had promised to make free the Holy Church of God, "which in his brother's time had been sold and put out to farm"; to remove the evil customs and unjust exactions by which the country had been oppressed, and to restore the laws of good King Edward.[3] But Henry

[1] Ep. 265, to Anselm. "Inter cætera regna terrarum, ad apostolicæ sedis dilectionem atque obedientiam, Anglorum regnum specialiter pertinere, apostolicæ sedis scripta et Anglicarum historiarum series manifestabunt."

[2] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, l. iii. *init.*; *A.-S. Chron.*, 1100.

[3] *Ib.*, and Florence of Worcester, 1100.

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was at heart a Norman tyrant, and soon showed his intentions with regard to the Church, both in its Head and members, by requiring Anselm "to do him homage and receive the archbishopric from him,"[1] and by refusing to receive as a papal legate, Guy, archbishop of Vienne, who came to England in the beginning of the year 1101.[2] In the midst of his early difficulties he did not push the matter of Anselm's receiving investiture from him; on the contrary, he promised to leave ecclesiastical affairs in his hands, and to obey the Pope.[3] He tried at once, however, to obtain Paschal's consent to his wishes; and continued to do so for some six years, sending him no fewer than five embassies, and striving by every conceivable device either to obtain his end or to ward off the consequences of his disobedience. Though his own troubles and his natural weakness of character prevented the Pope from taking up a strong position at first, he persistently refused to listen to Henry's request. He reminded him of the saying of our Lord, "I am the Door" (S. John x. 9), and added, "The moment, therefore, that kings establish the claim to be the entrance (to the Church), all such as enter by them must be regarded as thieves and robbers. . . . (Hence) the Roman and Apostolic Church has in the person of my predecessors made the most lively efforts to put a stop to royal usurpation under the abominable guise of investiture, and, in spite of most grievous persecutions and princely tyranny, has held her ground till this day."[4] He also exhorted Anselm to

[1] "Regi hominium facere, et archiepiscopatum de manu ejus recipere." Ead., *l.c.*

[2] Eadmer, l. iii. p. 126, R. S.

[3] "Anselmo jura totius Christianitatis in Anglia exercendæ se relicturum, atque decretis et jussionibus apostolicæ sedis se perpetuo obœditurum, summo opere promittebat." *Ib.*, p. 127.

[4] Ep. 49, an. 1101, Rule's translation. *Cf.* ep. 75 (an. 1102) where he promises Henry his friendship "si ab investituris abstinere, si

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strive to reform the Church in England, to bring the king to a sense of his duty to the Pope, and to effect the restoration of Peter's Pence, as he knew how hampered he was for want of means. Finally, he begged the archbishop to work hard to make peace between Henry and Robert, for the latter, as a Crusader, had appealed to him regarding Henry's seizure of England. To help Anselm to effect the desired peace he sent him two legates.[1] Other letters soon followed, in which he unfolded to him his mind on the investiture question.[2]

Anselm again in exile.

There was certainly ample need of his plainly informing Anselm of his attitude on the investiture question, for the archbishop had reason to fear that he had been frightened out of his position. Henry had written him a very domineering letter. In it he had indeed congratulated Paschal on his accession to the See of the Holy Roman Church, had informed him that he had dispatched the customary Peter's Pence, and had promised him that obedience which his predecessors had had in England in his father's time; but he had also stated that, if he was not allowed to retain the usages and customs which had obtained during that period, he would be compelled, however unwillingly, to withdraw himself from obedience to him.[3]

Moreover, some of the king's bishops, Gerard, archbishop of York, Herbert Losinga of Norwich, and Robert, bishop of Chester, who formed the second embassy which Henry sent to Rome, had not hesitated on their return to declare that the Pope had by word of mouth granted to the king

honorem debitum et libertatem a Domino institutam Ecclesiæ conservaris. Ecclesiarum si quidem investituras nos S. Spiritus judicio regibus et principibus, imo laicis omnibus interdicimus." *Cf.* ep. 101.

[1] Ep. 59, an. 1101.

[2] Epp. 73, 85, 86.

[3] Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. 8, Record ed.; or ap. Bromton, *Chron.*, an. 1103.

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that right of investiture which he denied him in writing (autumn 1102).[1]

Though fresh letters soon arrived from the Pope (*c.* January 1103), indignantly repudiating the assertions of the bishops,[2] Henry would take no notice of them, but begged Anselm himself to go to Rome, and try to persuade the Pope to let him keep "the usages of his predecessors."[3] Though well knowing what the result would be, when he found that the wishes of the king were the wishes also of the barons, he set out for Rome (April 1103).

When the aged prelate arrived at his destination, he found there an envoy of the king, William of Warelwast or Veraval. A skilful diplomat was William of Veraval, but he overshot the mark when he closed a clever speech with the words: "I would have you all know that my lord the king of England will rather suffer the loss of his kingdom than lose the investiture of the churches." "If your king," promptly rejoined the Pope, "will not give up the investiture of the churches even at the cost of the loss of his kingdom, know that not even for the loss of his life will Paschal ever allow him to retain it with impunity."[4]

But in the hope that a mild answer would turn away wrath, the Pope sent Henry a very temperate letter. After

[1] See the very lively account of the council of London, where the bishops made this statement, in Eadmer, *l.c.*, p. 137 ff. Not to give the lie to the assertions of his bishops, Henry would not allow the letter which Paschal had sent to him to be seen. The conduct of Gerard was all the more disloyal to the Pope, seeing that he had granted him the pallium, after allowing him to be translated to the See of York, and had commanded the Scotch suffragans of the see to obey him. Epp. 61 and 62, an. 1101. Later he had to insist on his submission to Anselm. Epp. 87 and 100.

[2] Ead., p. 147; ep. 85, dated December 12, 1102. The prevaricating bishops were declared cut off from communion with the Pope till they had given satisfaction to the Roman Church. *Cf.* ep. 177.

[3] Ead., *ib.*

[4] Ead., *l.c.*, p. 153. *Cf.* Anselm., epp. iii. 79, 81, 86, 88.

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congratulating him on the birth of his son, he expressed his regret that the king should ask him for what he cannot grant: "Were we to sanction or tolerate the grant of investitures by your Majesty, we should incur a terrible risk, and so would you. It is not that in thus forbidding them we either gain a wider obedience and ampler freedom, or diminish aught of your due power and right; . . . for the right is not yours. It is neither imperial nor royal, but Divine."[1]

The only result of Anselm's mission, as far as he was concerned, was that he was forbidden to return to England.[2] He accordingly took up his abode as before with Archbishop Hugh at Lyons.

Anselm returns to England, 1106.

Meanwhile Henry seized the revenues of the archbishopric and entered into procrastinating negotiations with the Pope and Anselm to stave off the consequences of his arbitrary conduct. But there is an end to all things; and Anselm, leaving the question of investiture to be dealt with by the Pope, gave the king to understand that unless he left the property of his see undisturbed, he would excommunicate him (May 1104).[3] Though by restoring the archbishop's property he saved himself from that danger (July 1105),[4] he found that difficulties were thickening around him. Paschal had excommunicated his chief adviser, Count Robert of Meluan, and those whom he had ventured to invest (March 1105);[5] the clergy and people of England were becoming restive owing to his illegal pecuniary exactions; and his campaigns against his brother, Robert of Normandy, were not successful. There was a general wish for Anselm's return to his diocese. For this

[1] Ep. 101, November 23, 1103. Rule's translation. During Anselm's exile, the Countess Matilda took up his cause very warmly. See her letter to Paschal, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 458.

[2] Ead., p. 157. *Cf.* epp. Anselm., iv. 46–48. [3] Epp. iii. 95, 111.

[4] Ead., p. 165, and *in vit. Anselmi*, c. 56; epp. Anselm., iii. 109–111.

[5] Pasch. epp. 144–146; ep. Anselm., iv. 74.

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Paschal paved the way by a concession which he made to Henry's fifth embassy. He authorised the archbishop to absolve those who had incurred censures in the meantime by giving or receiving investitures, and as a temporary indulgence, and on the understanding that investiture was to be withheld, he permitted ecclesiastics to offer homage to the king.[1]

Accordingly, at the urgent request of the king, Anselm set out for England, where he was received by "Good Queen Mold" (Matilda) and the whole country with the greatest joy, about the close of August 1106.[2]

The settlement of the "investiture quarrel," 1107.

On August 1 of the following year, at a great assembly in London, the controversy on investitures, in which Anselm had taken so noble a part, was brought to a satisfactory close. It was there decreed that in future no ecclesiastic was to be invested by crosier or ring with a bishopric or abbacy, but, on the other hand, it was to be permitted to do homage to the king.[3] The homage was tendered before consecration, and, at least in the time of Henry II., the oath to the king was taken with the saving clause, "salvo ordine meo,"—"as far as my sacred character will permit."

This concession on the part of Henry did not indeed make the Church in England free; but it was a good step forward in that direction. It was an acknowledgment

[1] "Si qui vero deinceps, præter investituras ecclesiarum, prælationes assumpserint, etiamsi regi hominia fecerint, nequaquam ob hoc a benedictionis munere arceantur." Ep. 177, March 23, 1106. Even the three bishops who "falsum rumorem attulerunt," and thereby injured the Pope and deceived the simple, were not to be excluded from the general amnesty.

[2] Ead., p. 181 ff.

[3] "Rex . . . statuit . . . in reliquum nunquam per dationem baculi pastoralis vel anuli quisquam episcopatu aut abbatia per regem . . . investiretur, concedente quoque Anselmo ut nullus in prælationem electus pro hominio quod regi faceret consecratione suscepti honoris privaretur." Ead., p. 186. Unfortunately, the official account of this important London assembly has not come down to us.

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that the source of spiritual jurisdiction was elsewhere than in the crown. The king could not make bishops as he could make earls. Henry realised that he had had to give up what he would fain have kept. He was not above even making a feint to recover what he had yielded, on the pretence that Paschal had granted the right of investiture to Henry V. of Germany. But a prompt denial of this pretext on the Pope's part saved the English king from perjuring himself.[1]

Anselm and reform.

Despite his age, Anselm devoted himself with the utmost zeal to repair the injuries sustained by the Church during his struggle with the king, and he was well supported by the Pope. Seeing "that the larger and better part of the English clergy" were the sons of priests, Paschal allowed Anselm, notwithstanding the canons to the contrary, to promote such as were good and learned.[2] And at the saint's request he authorised the formation of the diocese of Ely out of the large diocese of Lincoln.[3]

Anselm's successor in the See of Canterbury.

Though Anselm died in the midst of his work of reform (April 21, 1109), the Pope fortunately did not cease to take an interest in our country. Unmindful of the promises he had made at the beginning of his reign, Henry kept the See of Canterbury vacant, and appropriated its revenues. At length, however, "moved by the admonitions of the Lord Pope" and by the prayers of the monks of Canterbury and others,[4] he permitted an election to take place in his presence at Windsor. The choice of the electors[5] fell on

[1] Ep. 260, October 12, 1108, to Anselm. "Quod regem Teutonicum dare investituras ecclesiarum toleramus, nec tolerasse nos aliquando, nec toleraturos scias." *Cf.* ep. Anselm. to Paschal, ap. Ead., pp. 201–202. On this investiture affair see, in the first instance, the able and full account in Rule, and then Montalembert, vii. 248 ff., and Stephens, *Hist. of the English Church*, ii. c. 6.

[2] Ep. 221. [3] Epp. 264, 265. [4] Ead., *H. N.*, l. v. p. 222.

[5] "Electus a nobis (the monks of Christchurch) et clero et populo." The letter of the monks to the Pope, ap. Eadmer, *l.c.*, p. 227.

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Ralph d'Escures, bishop of Rochester, sometime abbot of Seez (April 22, 1114), and he was solemnly enthroned about three weeks later. Towards the end of the year a number of monks and clerics were sent to Rome with letters from the king and the monks of Christchurch, praying the Pope to confirm their choice, and to grant their envoys the pallium for Ralph, as ill-health prevented him from going for it himself.[1]

Seeing that the new archbishop had been translated from one see to another without his knowledge or consent, Paschal was little disposed to accede to the request made to him. But the envoys managed to secure the patronage of Anselm, abbot of St. Sabas, and nephew of their late archbishop, whom he resembled in his sweetness of face and character. He had lived in England for some considerable time, and "for his gentleness had been loved by the English as one of themselves." He prevailed upon the Pope to allow him to take the pallium to the archbishop; but at the same time he had to convey papal letters to the king and the monks of Christchurch, in which Paschal complained that, in the realms of Henry, Blessed Peter, and in his person, our Lord had been deprived of the honour which was His due. Papal letters and legates were not received without the consent of the king, and appeals were not carried to Rome. This state of things, urged the Pope, is very different from that which obtained under the old régime, when England was so closely attached to the Apostolic See. To promote a better understanding he is sending to the king one dear to both of them, the abbot Anselm. He also told the king that Peter's Pence was so carelessly or fraudulently collected that not half of it reached Rome. For this, as for all the other evils, the king is to blame, "because nothing may be done in

[1] "Supplicantes ut quem . . . Deus . . . elegit, vestra sancta auctoritate . . . confirmetis." Eadmer, *l.c.*

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the kingdom without his consent."[1] In his letter to the monks, Paschal strongly condemned the translation of the bishop of Rochester without his knowledge, but stated that he condoned the act owing to the good character of the prelate who had been translated.[2]

After he had first made a profession of fidelity and canonical obedience to the Roman Pontiff, Ralph, with bare feet, assumed the pallium, which Anselm had placed in a silver casket on the altar of the cathedral at Canterbury (June 27, 1115).[3]

A general assembly at Westminster.

Some weeks after this the bishops and barons of the nation were summoned to Westminster to discuss the Pope's views on the relations between the king and himself. A long letter was read from him, in which he denounced Henry's methods with regard to bishops. When our Lord Jesus Christ, said the Pope, entrusted the Church to its first pastor, St. Peter, with the words, "Feed my sheep, feed my lambs," He gave into his hands the care of the bishops, signified by the sheep. How then can we feed sheep we have never seen nor heard? Our Lord divided the whole world among his disciples; but he gave over Europe especially to Peter and Paul, and through them and their successors has all Europe been converted.[4] It has been their wont, continued the Pope, to settle the more important ecclesiastical cases by their vicars. But you, without consulting us, decide even episcopal cases; you hinder appeals

[1] "Quod totum tibi, sicut et alia, imputatur, quia præter voluntatem tuam nihil in regno præsumitur." Ep. Pasch. ad Henricum, ap. Ead., p. 229. This is an eloquent testimony to the arbitrary power exercised by our Norman kings. For an attempt to prove "the independence" of the English Church from Paschal's relations with Henry, see Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, ii. 293 f.

[2] *Ib.*, p 231.

[3] "Facta prius Romano pontifici de fidelitate et canonica obœdientia professione." *Ib.*, p. 230.

[4] Ep. Pasch., ap. Ead., p. 232 f.; or ep. 425.

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to the Apostolic See, and hold ecclesiastical councils without our knowledge. If, concluded Paschal, you continue to do these things, we shall devote you to the judgment of God. This outspoken letter, of course, offended the susceptibilities of our Norman king; and the council accordingly decided that he should send an embassy to make his views known to the Pope.

Of the work done by the embassy nothing is known; but in the following year (1116), when Anselm was again on his way to England as papal legate, he was honourably but effectively retained by Henry in Normandy.[1]

Papal legates in England.

This question of the reception of papal legates in England, other than the archbishop of Canterbury,[2] opened between William the Conqueror and Gregory VII., continued during most of the reign of Henry I., between that monarch, on the one hand, and Popes Paschal II., Calixtus II., Honorius II., and Innocent II. on the other. By threats, soft words, or gold, Henry often succeeded in preventing the papal legates from landing in England or from executing their commissions. But the Popes continued to oppose their natural rights to the new-fangled[3]

[1] Ead., p. 239; ep. Pasch., 471.

[2] In Anglo-Saxon times "we find the archbishop of Canterbury invested with the title of envoy of the Apostolic See," notes Lingard, *Hist. of England*, ii. 22. He quotes the *Life* of St. Wilfrid by Eddi (c. 51). Hence both king and archbishop were disposed at times to resent the coming of any *extraordinary* papal legate; and so Eadmer says that when Guido of Vienne came to England as "legate of the whole of Britannia," with the authority of the Apostolic See, "in admirationem omnibus venit, inauditum scilicet in Britannia cuncti scientes, quemlibet hominum super se vices apostolicas gerere, *nisi solum archiepiscopum Cantuariæ*." *H. N.*, l. iii. p. 126. This astonishment must have been confined to *Norman* England, because the English portion of the country must have known full well that *extraordinary* papal legates had often appeared in England before the Norman Conquest.

[3] For Henry never appealed to any other *customs* than those of his father and brother, the two tyrannical Norman Williams.

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tyrannical *customs* of the Norman sovereigns, and in their turn were occasionally successful in the assertion of their claims.[1]

In connection with the legatine mission of Abbot Anselm of which we have just spoken, it was decided by a council in England and by Henry that Archbishop Ralph, "who was longing to visit the threshold of the apostles," should go to the Pope to press his claims to be the sole legate of the Holy See in England. Ralph was also anxious to induce Paschal to force Thurstan, the archbishop-elect of York, to acknowledge his primacy. He went on his journey with great pomp, and was everywhere received with the state which he himself assumed.[2] When, however, he reached Rome (1117), he found that, owing to the quarrel between Pope and emperor, the former had betaken himself to Benevento, and that it would be highly dangerous to attempt to go to him.[3] He had, therefore, but to send him letters, and to return content with the Pope's simple reply that he would not diminish the authentic privileges of the See of Canterbury.[4]

The submission of York to Canterbury.

Another long dispute in which also Paschal was engaged owed its continuance in no small degree, it would seem, to the Popes themselves not adopting a definite and final attitude towards it. The dispute in point was that between the archbishops of York and of Canterbury on the question of the dependence of the former see on the latter. Before Lanfranc would consecrate Thomas I. of York, he exacted a promise of submission from him;[5] but, saying

[1] *Cf. infra* for the legation of John of Crema under Honorius II.

[2] Ead., l. v. pp. 239–240.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 242. "Omnibus ad papam ire volentibus graves insidiæ ab incolis struebantur."

[4] *Ib.*; or ep. 417. *Cf.* Hugh *in vit Turst.*, p. 155.

[5] According to Paschal, Alexander II. insisted on Thomas's promising obedience to Lanfranc *and his successors*. Ep. 87.

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that there were two metropolitans in England, the northern archbishop would not renew the act of submission to Lanfranc's successor, Anselm. His successor, Gerard, however, gave the required promise "of subjection and obedience."[1] On his death, Thomas II. (1108–1114) endeavoured to avoid making the objectionable promise, but Paschal stood firmly by Anselm; and his legate, Cardinal Ulric, gave the pallium to Thomas only after he had professed his subjection to Canterbury.[2] On the accession of the famous Thurstan[3] (1114–1140) to the great northern see, the dispute broke out again with violence. King Henry at first sided with the elect of York in his determination not to proffer that profession of obedience which, according to him, was only a recent claim, and not in harmony with the regulations of St. Gregory I. and of his successors.[4] But whilst Thurstan was making his contention known in Rome, and getting Paschal to acknowledge its justice,[5] Henry veered round. Doubtless realising it would be easier for him to control one primate than two, he ordered Thurstan to make the profession of obedience; and on his continued refusal to comply, deprived him of his see. Ralph, however, as we have seen, was unable to induce Paschal to give up his support of his rival. On the contrary, both Canterbury and the king received letters from the Pope requiring that Thurstan should be restored to his see, and that Ralph should con-

[1] Ead., l. iv. p. 187, and ep. Pasch., 87, where he confirms the action of Alexander II.

[2] Ead., *ib.*, pp. 199–211. Ep. Pasch., 260.

[3] See his *Life* in Raine, *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, i. 170 ff. He is very enthusiastic regarding this "great and noble-minded man." He bases his work to a large extent on a *Life* of Thurstan by one who knew him, viz. Hugh Sotovagina, the precentor and archdeacon of York, historian and poet, whose work was published for the first time in 1886 in vol. ii. of *The Historians of the Church of York*, R. S.

[4] Ead., l. v. pp. 237–238; Hugh, p. 129. [5] Ead., pp. 243–244.

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secrate him without exacting the promise of subjection.[1] In virtue of the Pope's letter Henry restored the elect to his see;[2] but Ralph would not consecrate him, nor would Henry allow the Pope's mandate which commissioned the suffragans of York to consecrate him[3] to be put into effect. The dispute dragged on; and during it both Pope Paschal II. and Gelasius II., who shared in it, died. Calixtus II., however, at last took up the matter vigorously, and, despite both Henry and Ralph, consecrated Thurstan himself (October 20, 1119).[4] "And because," says our old chronicle, "that Thurstan, against right and against the arch-see of Canterbury, and against the king's will, had received consecration from the Pope, the king prohibited him from all return to England." Calixtus accordingly took him about with him, and behaved towards him with the utmost consideration.[5] He treated him as a cardinal, giving him, on the occasions of his solemn coronations, the same number of golden byzants, *i.e.*, the same *presbyterium*, as he was wont to give to the cardinals.

In the following year, when at Gap, he took stronger steps He definitely freed York from subjection to Canterbury, and threatened to excommunicate Henry if he should continue to oppose its archbishop[6] (March 11, 1120). But

[1] Epp. 493, April 5, 1117, and 494, an. 1117.

[2] Ead., p. 244. He returned to England February 1118.

[3] Hugh, pp. 134–135, quoting Paschal's letter to the canons of York. *Cf.* p. 138 for a letter of the Pope forbidding Canterbury to exact the submission.

[4] Ead., *ib.*, p. 255 ff.; *A.-Sax. Chron.*, 1119. According to Eadmer, Thurstan had at length been allowed to go and see Calixtus on condition that he engaged not to be consecrated by the Pope; according to Hugh the Chantor (Raine, *l.c.*, p. 180), he would promise nothing. In this affair of Archbishop Thurstan, it is perhaps not wonderful that the testimonies of the writers of Canterbury and York do not agree.

[5] Raine, p. 185.

[6] *Ib.*, p. 186. Jaffé (6831) thinks that this privilege of Calixtus is perhaps not genuine. But see Raine, p. 191 f.

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it was not till the beginning of the next year, after Thurstan had been of great service to the king in promoting peace between England and France, and after Calixtus had threatened to lay the country under an interdict, that he was allowed to return to his diocese.[1] If, however, he had helped to make peace between two countries, he did not succeed in making it between two archbishoprics.[2] His struggle for independence with Canterbury went on for the greater part of his life, and almost as fiercely after the death of Ralph (October 20, 1122) as before it.

France.

Paschal's influence in France.

One of the links between England and France at this time was Thurstan. His cause was warmly supported by Louis the Fat, who bluntly told the Pope that "the case of the archbishop of York would bring to Rome no little honour or dishonour, as the case might be."[3] The Pope to whom he spoke these words was Calixtus II., but they might well have been addressed to Paschal II., with reference to many cases in France with which that Pontiff was concerned. Paschal's action in the realm of Philip I. (†1108), and Louis VI., the Fat, was manifold, but exerted in so pacific a spirit that, if compromise was carried to its furthest limits, the work of reform among the undisciplined clergy of the Church in France was nevertheless substantially advanced. We have already seen that to be more free to further it, he overlooked the fact that in the matter of Philip's intercourse with Bertrada, his words and his deeds were not at one.[4] The adulterous king was sure of the support of many of his creatures among the bishops. Even when he was under excommunication, the archbishop

[1] *Cf.* Hugh, p. 192 ff., and *A.-Sax. Chron.*, 1120.

[2] We cannot too cordially recommend the reading of Raine's *Life* of this great English churchman.

[3] Hugh the Chantor, *l.c.*, p. 173.

[4] See *supra*, vii. p. 310 ff.

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of Rheims would seem not to have hesitated to crown him.[1] In view, then, of the strong position of the French king, and because he wanted a support in his struggle against the empire, Paschal followed the lead of the great bishop Ivo of Chartres, who induced both him and the king to make mutual concessions. They would appear, for instance, to have come to a tacit understanding on the investiture question on the lines of its settlement in England.[2] But neither by his legates nor by his personal efforts when in France, did he succeed in putting an end to such abuses of the royal power as the keeping of bishoprics vacant that their revenues might enrich the royal coffers, and the arbitrary interference with the freedom of ecclesiastical elections.

The bishopric of Beauvais.

Much of what has been said in the preceding paragraph may be illustrated by the case of Stephen Garland. Despite the regulations of the Pope and of his legates, John and Benedict, regarding the validity of episcopal elections, the larger section of the chapter of Beauvais, on the recommendation of Philip and Bertrada, elected as their bishop Stephen Garland, a son of the seneschal of France. Not only was their candidate not in major orders, but he was an illiterate gambler of bad life, who had been publicly expelled from the Church for adultery.[3] Notwithstanding

[1] "Namque manum super hunc (a certain abbot) aggravat ille
Remensis
Iram qui papæ funditus emeruit,
Imposuit siquidem regi diadema Philippo;
Nunc et in hoc papæ negligit imperium."

Verses of Baudri of Bourgneil, ap. *P. L.*, t. 166, p. 1205, cited by Monod.

[2] Monod, *Les rapports de Pasch. II. avec Philippe I.*, p. 56–7. "Paschal II. ne paraît pas avoir conclu de concordat avec Philippe Ier ou son fils Louis. Et pourtant, dès le commencement du xiie siècle, Philippe ne pratiquait plus l'investiture spirituelle et cessait de recevoir l'hommage féodal des évêques." Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, ii. 220.

[3] *Cf.* epp. Ivonis, 87, 89, 95, an. 1101, ap. *P. L.*, t. 162.

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Stephen's attempts at bribery, his election was annulled at Rome, and the more reputable portion of the chapter, with the advice of the nobles of the diocese and the consent of the people, elected in his stead a learned and virtuous monk, named Galon.[1] But, inflamed by the suggestions of Stephen's electors, Philip swore that never should Galon be bishop of Beauvais.[2] Thus rejected by the king, the bishop-elect betook himself to Rome.[3] Though Paschal at once acknowledged the legitimacy of his election,[4] he did not institute proceedings against the king of France, but sent Galon on an embassy to Poland (1102). For two years longer the See of Beauvais remained vacant. At this juncture the bishop of Paris died (1104), and the friends of peace brought about the election and translation of Galon to the See of Paris. Consecrated by the Pope himself (April 1105),[5] he entered on his new charge in peace, while a new bishop was chosen for Beauvais.[6]

In all this affair, in the resistance offered to the scandalous election, and in the compromise that closed the strife resulting therefrom, the leading spirit was Ivo of Chartres. For though, as far as in him lay, he would not suffer the great laws of the Church to be trampled upon, he was so conscious of the harm done by disagreement between Church and State, that he spared no pains to put an end to it as soon as possible. "God first of all," he insisted, "must have in His Church what are His rights."[7] At the same time he impressed upon Pope Paschal that "when Church and State (*regnum et sacerdotium*) work together, the world is well governed, and the Church flourishes; but that when

[1] Ivonis, epp. 89, 204, 205. [2] *Ib.*, epp. 104–105, 144.
[3] *Ib.*, ep. 110. [4] *Ib.*, epp. 144–146. [5] Epp. Pasch., 149, 150.
[6] *Cf.* Monod, *l.c.*, pp. 27–34; Montalembert, *Monks*, vii. p. 295 ff.
[7] "Habeat ergo Deus in Ecclesia sua principaliter quod suum est. Habeat rex posteriori ordine post Deum quod sibi a Deo concessum est." Ep. 102.

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they are in disagreement, not only do the weak not grow strong, but the strong become wretchedly infirm."[1]

These words were addressed to Pope Paschal *à propos* of the diocese of Noyon. When they were written, Louis VI.[2] was king of France. Though, according to Ivo,[3] he was a man of simple nature, devoted to the Church of God, and well disposed towards the Apostolic See, he was above all things bent on extending the prestige and substantial power of the king of France. For it must not be forgotten that at this period he who bore that title was *de facto* the actual ruler of but a portion of the centre of the country which now bears that name. But, inasmuch as Louis VI. firmly established the royal power in the country round Paris, and thus secured to the French monarchs a strong centre, he indirectly laid the foundations of that absolute power over the whole of France possessed by Louis XIV.[4] With all his goodwill to the Church either at large or at home, over which the early kings of the Capetian race had more control than they had over the State, Louis steadfastly opposed anything which would tend to lessen his real power over it.

The diocese of Noyon.

Part of the diocese of Noyon, in which was situated the

[1] "Non tantum parvæ res non crescunt, sed etiam magnæ res miserabiliter dilabuntur." Ep. 238.

[2] He had succeeded his father in 1108, and had been consecrated at Orleans. It is significant of the manner in which the Pope was now being looked up to as the guardian of law and order in Western Christendom, that Ivo of Chartres addressed a circular letter to Paschal and to the bishops to explain that Louis had been consecrated at Orleans, and not at Rheims, through necessity, and not through contempt of law. Ep. 189.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] "It was Louis VI. who made possible that extensive development (of the French monarchy) which characterised the reign of Philip Augustus, and the splendour of the Capetian House as it shone forth under St. Louis and Philip the Fair." J. W. Thompson, *The Development of the French Monarchy under Louis VI.*, p. 16, Chicago, 1895. *Cf.* Luchaire, *Institutions des Premiers Capetiens*, ii. 256.

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city of Tournai, was close to the boundary where met the spheres of influence of the French king and of the emperor, and was more disposed to attach itself to the latter than to the former. On the death of Balderic, bishop of Noyon and Tournai (1113), both Noyon and Tournai put forward candidates of their own, and Paschal, favourable to a division of this large diocese, took steps to provide Tournai with a bishop of its own.[1] But fearful lest the result of this would be that he would thus lose control over part of the diocese of Noyon, Louis stoutly set his face against its subdivision. Ivo in consequence wrote a strong letter to the Pope, begging that an arrangement of four hundred years' duration might be allowed to stand, lest, though the kingdom of the Franks had ever been distinguished for its loyalty to the Apostolic See, Louis might cause a schism "in the kingdom of the Gauls" such as exists in the German Empire. He did not, he said, question the right of the Pope to arrange the territorial divisions of the Church, but he must consider the danger of schism, and of impoverishing the diocese of Noyon.[2] The project of the division of the diocese accordingly fell through for the time.[3]

The Pope's position in France must show his relations to it.

It is quite impossible here to enter into any further detail to elucidate the intercourse between Paschal and the rulers, spiritual and temporal, of France. It must suffice to state the position *he* occupied in that great country, for it will not then require any great flight of imagination to understand in what directions his relations towards it must

[1] *Cf. Hist. Tornac.*, l. iv. c. 2, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiv.; *Lib. de restaur. S. Martini Torn. Contin.*, c. 9, ap. *ib.*; and ep. Pasch., 368.

[2] Ep. 238. "Nec in hoc resistimus, quin possit sedes apostolica parochiarum amplitudinem minorare, aut brevitatem dilatare, si utilitas populi Dei ita exigat, et nullum inde schisma contingat."

[3] *Cf.* Luchaire, *Louis VI., Annales de sa vie*, p. 87, Paris, 1890. The diocese was finally divided by Eugenius III. in 1146.

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have run. To do so we select some words of Luchaire, who has sketched it in a few bold strokes. "The successor of St. Peter had in France his estates (*propriétés*), his revenues, his sovereign rights, his government. The influence which he exercised either in person or by his representatives was even much more widespread than that of the king of France, for it effectively reached all parts of the kingdom, even those distant fiefs where the sovereign who ruled at Paris was scarcely known even by name."[1] And the action of Paschal in France was all the greater because at this period there was considerable religious activity there. The great growth of monasticism all over Europe in the eleventh century was very conspicuous in France. Not to speak again of the monastery of Cluny and its dependencies, to which attention has been so frequently called in these pages, nor yet of that of Citeaux, mention may here be made of the monastic foundations, Fontevrault, etc., of the Breton, Robert of Arbissel, of those of Bernard, abbot of Tiron in Perche, and of those of the Norman monk St. Vital.[2] And, speaking generally, wherever a new monastery was instituted, there also was established a centre of papal action and influence. However, as Monod is at pains to note, Paschal did not unduly favour either monks or monasteries, but, in the disputes which necessarily arose between them and the bishops, "he decided, as an impartial judge, now in favour of a bishop, now in favour of a monastery, as justice appeared to require."[3]

SPAIN.

Christian and Moorish Spain.

It was in the year 1002 that first tolled the death-knell of the Moors in Spain. In that year, during the reign of

[1] *Ib.*, p. cxix.

[2] Epp. Pasch., 339 and 492; Montalembert, vii. 364 ff. [3] *L.c.*, p. 65.

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Hisham II. (976–1012), practically the last of the splendid line of the Caliphs of Cordova, died Almanzor (1002), nominally his commander-in-chief, but really his ruler, and the virtual sovereign of all the Moors in the peninsula. Soon after his death the caliphate came to an end. A number of petty kingdoms sprang up, and throughout the eleventh century there was anarchy in Moorish Spain, while the Christian kingdoms of the North, taking advantage of it, were steadily expanding southwards. Alfonso VI., king of Castile and Leon (1074–1109), recovered Toledo (1085), and Urban II. helped to consolidate his kingdom by re-establishing the ancient ecclesiastical primacy of Toledo, and by his general policy of church reform in Christian Spain.[1]

In the formation of the great modern kingdoms of Europe, the Church has played a very great part; initially, indeed, the greatest part; for, in the break-up of the empire of Old Rome, or of the dynasties which succeeded to portions of its power, the Church suffered less than any other institution. This was due to its organisation, at once simple and complete, the same in every section of the empire, connected with that of every other section, and bound to a common immutable centre, the See of Peter. Hence it furnished in every country a nucleus round which its political unity could crystallise.

Of no country is this more true than of Spain; and what Paschal II. did for it helped it at a very critical period of its history. Alarmed at the anarchy which had followed the close of the Ommeyad dynasty of Cordova, and at the advance of the Christian arms, the Moors of Spain turned for help to Africa. There the Berber chief Yusuf, coming from the slopes of the Atlas Mountains, had founded a new empire, that of the Almoravides

[1] *Cf. supra*, vii. p. 336 ff.

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(religious soldiers). Invited by the Moors of Spain to come to their help, he not only drove back the victorious Spaniards,[1] but subjected the Moors themselves to his iron puritanical rule. And during most of the twelfth century Berber rulers, whether of the Almoravide dynasty or of that of their successors, the Almohades, kept the Christian kingdoms more or less in check.

Paschal works for the progress of Christian Spain.

When, then, Paschal II. realised that the Spanish Christians had a new foe to face, he at once forbade either the laity or the clergy of Spain to join the Crusaders who were making for Jerusalem.[2] Nor was he content with this prohibition, nor yet with offering his commiseration to Alfonso VI. on his defeats. He encouraged the Christians of other lands to go and fight in Spain,[3] and had the satisfaction of seeing that his exhortations were not thrown away. It was, for instance, due to his encouragement that the people of Pisa fitted out a fleet of three hundred ships and wrested the island of Majorca from the Moors (1114).[4] He sent letters to the bishops and princes of Spain, urging them to combine to put down intestine strife, and to keep peace with one another; and he pronounced all those excommunicated who were engaged in civil war.[5] He confirmed the decree of Urban II., which restored to Toledo its ancient primacy in Spain,[6]

[1] In 1086 Alfonso VI. was badly defeated by Yusuf at Zalaca near Badajoz.

[2] "Sicut militibus, ita etiam clericis vestrarum partium (this he wrote to the Church of Compostela) interdicimus ne occasione Jerosolymitanæ visionis Ecclesiam et provinciam suam deserere præsumant, quam Moabitarum feritas tam frequenter impugnat." Ep. 25, an. 1100.

[3] Ep. 25, to Alfonso, an. 1100.

[4] Bernard Marangoni, *Ann. Pisani*, 1114, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.

[5] Ep. 364, an. 1113; epp. 266, 267; 252, 253; 263; 417.

[6] Ep. 39, an. 1101. "In totis Hispaniarum regnis primatem fore præsentis privilegii auctoritate sancimus, sicut ejusdem urbis constat antiquitus extitisse pontifices."

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and supported Bernard, the occupant of the see, "and our vicar," in his punishment of Maurice Bourdin, archbishop of Braga, for his oppression of the See of Leon.[1]

Urraca and Alfonso I. of Aragon.

There was certainly every need for Paschal to do his best to promote the cause of peace and unity in Spain, for at this very time, when those blessings were most required by the Spanish kingdoms, they were conspicuous by their absence. On the death of the great king Alfonso VI., his eldest daughter, Urraca, the widow of Raymond, count of Burgundy, succeeded to his throne (1109–1126). Unfortunately, the very step which she took, on the advice of her nobles, in the interests of peace brought about ceaseless war. She married Alfonso I., king of Aragon, surnamed el Batallador, or The Warrior (1109). But the marriage was a most unfortunate one. It was opposed by the Pope, because the married couple were cousins;[2] and it was unhappy in itself. If the husband was cruel and overbearing, the wife was inconstant and unfaithful. "Aragon and Castile, Portugal and Leon were all at war; Diego Gomez and Pedro de Lara, the queen's lovers; Alfonso, the queen's husband, and Alfonso,[3] the queen's son, were one and all involved in perpetual strife; nor did the dissolution of Urraca's

[1] Ep. 387. Ep. 401 shows Maurice, who as an antipope was to earn an unenviable reputation, once more in favour.

[2] Epp. 307, an. 1110; 349. They were related in the third degree, and in Spain, as elsewhere in Christendom, those related even in the seventh degree were very wisely forbidden to marry; for we find the national council of Burgos (February 18, 1117), can. 14, confirming that limit. The acts of this council, presided over by Cardinal Boso, the legate *a latere* of Paschal, have been found but quite recently by Padre Fita and published in the *Boletín de la real Academia de la Hist.*, t. 48, pp. 387–407, May 1906.

[3] He was Urraca's son by her first husband. He became Alfonso VII., el Emperador, 1126–1157.

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marriage by the Pope[1] in any way tend to abate the stress of warfare, which was maintained till her unregretted death in 1126."[2]

The independence of Portugal.

This internecine struggle not only paralysed the efforts of the Spaniards against the Moors, but led to a permanent division among themselves. It resulted in the independence of Portugal. At the mouth of the Douro once stood the town of Cale, or Porto Cale (Oporto). Belonging to the Callæci, it became one of the important towns of the Roman province of Hispania Tarraconensis. About the middle of the eleventh century, among the districts or counties into which Galicia, then part of the kingdom of Leon, was divided, appears that of *Portucalense*.[3] This district extended from the Douro as far south as the Vouga, and towards the north embraced part of the modern province of Minho. In 1095 its ruler was Count Henry, who had married an illegitimate daughter of Alfonso VI. Through his exertions and those of his son, Alfonso Henry, the Moors were steadily driven back along the west coast; and, during the troubles of the ill-starred reign of Urraca, he began to dream of independence. The fulfilment of this dream was helped forward by the Pope. For the greater freedom of the newly re-established Church of *Portucale*, Paschal exempted its bishop from all metropolitan jurisdiction save that "of the Roman Pontiff or of a legate whom he might send *ab ejus latere*."[4] Carefully mapping out the limits of the

[1] In 1114, at the council of Palencia (?) *Cf.* McMurdo, *The Hist. of Portugal*, i. 123, London, 1888; Dunham, *The Hist. of Spain and Portugal*, ii. 163.

[2] Burke, *A Hist. of Spain*, i. 232.

[3] As early as 589 we find a Constantius described as "bishop ecclesiæ Portucalensis." Gams, *Series Epp.*, p. 108.

[4] Ep. 433, an. 1115, August 15. *Cf.* the confirmatory bull of Calixtus II., ep. 149, March 2, 1120, ed. Robert.

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ecclesia Portugalensis, he ordered restitution to be made to its bishop, Hugh, of any portion of it that had been annexed by another.[1]

With a church independent of any Spanish metropolitan, and with his suzerain of Castile and Leon in perpetual strife, Alfonso Henry, the son of Count Henry, became himself independent (1139). In 1143 he assumed the title of king, and to ensure the permanence of his rule placed his kingdom under the suzerainty of the Holy See. His homage was accepted by Pope Lucius II., who, however, only gave him the title of duke. It was not till the pontificate of Alexander III. that the papacy acknowledged the *dukes* of Portugal as kings, and that Portugal became independent in name as well as in fact.[2]

Diego Gelmirez.

In the midst of all the fighting, quarrelling, and intriguing princes of northern Spain at this epoch, the person of Diego Gelmirez,[3] another Wolsey in his greatness and in his ambition, stands forth very conspicuously. Principally concerned with glorifying his See of Compostela and making it completely independent, we nevertheless find him in close contact with the great political movements of his time and country. Now he is supporting Urraca,[4] and now fighting against her. At one time we see him making headway against Alfonso I. of Aragon, and at another struggling against his people in revolt.

The possession by the Church of Compostela of the body of St. James the Apostle had given a great distinction to its bishop; but Diego was not satisfied with that, but longed to be completely independent of the revived

[1] Ep. 434.

[2] M^c^Murdo, *Portugal*, i. 163, 168–170, 174–175; Altamira, *Hist. de España*, i. 366; Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, i. 222.

[3] *Cf. supra*, vii. p. 340 f.

[4] The doings of Urraca are not accurately set forth by Ordericus, xiii. 7.

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primatial dignity of Toledo (1086), and of the archbishop of Braga,[1] the traditional metropolitan of Galicia. His wishes were to a considerable extent gratified by the Popes. Urban II. freed the See of Compostela from all subjection to any metropolitan, and Paschal II. gave Diego the pallium.[2] He, moreover, agreed that, in imitation of a Roman custom, only Diego, or one of "the seven cardinal-priests" he had ordained for the purpose, should say Mass at the altar of St. James.[3] Although he granted other privileges to the Church of St. James,[4] he found there was no satisfying Diego, and at length had to decline to grant him any further favours for the time.[5] However, to soothe his feelings, he bade him labour for peace, and told him that when it was established he would consider his requests.[6] In subsequent pages we shall have to relate how the ambitious Diego succeeded in winning from later Popes the rank of archbishop and the dignity of legate of the Apostolic See in the ecclesiastical provinces of Braga and Merida.

[1] Braga was recovered from the Moors about the end of the eleventh century.

[2] Ep. 121. "Nos quoque, tantam prædecessorum nostrorum gratiam intuentes, filiorum nostrorum Alfonsi spectablis regis, cujus opera ejusdem apostoli locus nostris temporibus admodum magnificatus est et clericorum Compostellanorum precibus indulgendum duximus, ut pro tanti apostoli gratia Ecclesiam ipsam honore palii decoraremus."

[3] Ep. 262.

[4] Ep. 296. *Cf.* ep. 435, by which, because Diego had pretended danger to his person, Paschal exempted him from attendance at provincial councils.

[5] Ep. 297. [6] Ep. 393.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE CRUSADES AND THE EAST.

Paschal helps on the Crusades.

IN his zeal for the success of the Crusades, Paschal imitated his illustrious predecessor. A few months after his accession he wrote to the Crusaders in Palestine to congratulate them on their victories over "the oppressors of the Christian people," and to rejoice that "the Eastern Church, after its long captivity, had to a large extent returned to its ancient liberty." He encouraged them, in view of the sacrifices they had already made of ease and home and friends, to aim at higher things, that they might win eternal life. He sent them, he said, "from the bosom of the Apostolic See," Maurice, bishop of Porto, "that they who, through the vicar of Blessed Peter, his predecessor of blessed memory, Pope Urban, had undertaken so formidable a pilgrimage, might ever abound in the consolations of Peter." He would have them obey his legate whom he had sent to regulate the Church of Jerusalem as they would obey himself.[1]

Then he wrote in all directions, especially to the bishops of France, urging all soldiers, especially those who had already taken the cross, to hasten to assist their brethren in Palestine. Those who did not fulfil their promises to go to the East were to be accounted as infamous (*infames*), and those who had cowardly abandoned the siege of Antioch were to be regarded as excommunicated.[2]

Although a great number[3] hearkened immediately to the

[1] Ep. 21, May 4, 1100.

[2] Ep. 22. *Cf.* ep. 23.

[3] "Mox profectio populosa, et quæ pene priori posset numero dumtaxat æquari, subsequitur." Ekkehard, *Chron.*, 1101.

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voice of the Pope, the demand for men was so great, on account of the heavy losses the Crusaders had sustained, especially during their journey to Palestine, by hunger, sickness, the incessant attacks of enemies, and the wiles of the "accursed Alexius,"[1] that he found it necessary, a few years later, to make a special effort. Bohemond of Antioch appeared before him and demanded help. Giving him the standard of St. Peter, and attaching to him the famous Bruno of Asti, bishop of Segni,[2] Paschal sent him to France, the home of the Crusades, to stir up fresh zeal in their behalf.

The two envoys addressed the people at a great council at Poitiers (June 1106); and "numbers assumed the cross with ardour, and, leaving all they possessed, embraced the pilgrimage to Jerusalem as if they were going to a feast."[3] So many indeed took the cross at their exhortations, that Ordericus speaks of "a third Crusade of the people of the West to Jerusalem being then set on foot," and depicts "a vast concourse of many thousands advancing through Thrace, threatening to tread underfoot the Byzantine dynasty."[4] Bohemond had specially inflamed his hearers against Alexius by alleging "his cruelty towards the Crusaders," "for which," adds William of Malmesbury, "he was very noted."[5] The minds of the Westerns were now turned against the rulers of Constantinople, and the fatal seizure of Constantinople (1204), as the result of the fourth Crusade, was facilitated by the selfish and suspicious attitude of Alexius towards the Western soldiers of the first Crusade.

[1] Ekkehard, *Chron.*, 1101.

[2] Anna Com., *Alex.*, xii. 274. *Cf. Chron. Cas.*, iv. 31. *Cf.* Muralt, *Chron. Byzant.*, p. 104. Bohemond had come over to the Pope with Daimbert, the patriarch of Jerusalem. *Cf.* Fulcher, *Hist.*, ii. 25.

[3] Ordericus, xi. 12. *Cf.* Suger, c. 9.

[4] V. c. 19.

[5] *De Gest. Reg.*, l. iv. c. 2.

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Throughout all his life Paschal had this satisfaction at least, that in response to his letters and to the personal appeals of himself and his legates, men set out year by year from every country to fight the infidel either in Spain or Palestine.[1]

The Knights Hospitallers.

But the act of Paschal which had the most far-reaching influence on the Crusades was his confirmation of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem. According to the generally received account, some merchants from Amalfi had been allowed by the Fatimite Caliph of Egypt, el-Mustansir bi-llah (1036–1094), to found a hospital in Jerusalem for poor and sick Latin pilgrims (1048).[2] It would seem, however, that the ancient hospice of Charlemagne had been revived as early as the first quarter of the eleventh century, and that the hospital founded in 1048 was but a supplementary one.[3] Whether this is so or not, a certain Gerard had founded a hospice at Jerusalem, "near the Church of St. John the Baptist," and was at the head of it in 1113; for in that year Paschal addressed a bull to him in the twofold capacity of its head and founder.[4] In response to Gerard's request, the Pope took his hospital "under the guardianship (*tutela*) of the Apostolic See, and the protection of Blessed Peter," and decreed that everything either in Europe or Asia which became their property was to be preserved to them inviolate; that they should be freed from the payment of tithes; and that after Gerard's

[1] *Cf.* Archer, *The Crusades*, p. 132 ff. In 1111 King Sigurd, hence called Jorsalfarer, appeared in Palestine with over 10,000 Norwegians. Paschal made a strong personal appeal in behalf of the Crusades at the important council of Troyes in 1107. *Cf.* Labbe, *Conc.*, xii. 755.

[2] William of Tyre, *Hist.*, xviii. 4, 5, 6.

[3] *Cf.* Porter, *A History of the Knights of Malta*, p. 7, London, 1883.

[4] Ep. 357. "Geraudo, *institutori ac præposito* Hierosolymitani xenodochii," an. 1113.

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death only the professed brethren (*fratres professi*) should have the right of putting a successor in his place.[1]

During the life of Gerard (†1118), the brethren of the hospital only took the three ordinary monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and confined their attentions to tending the sick. But after his death, his successor, Raymond du Puy (1118–1160), seeing the sufferings to which the pilgrims were even yet exposed on their way to Jerusalem from Saracenic marauders, followed the example just set by Hugh de Payen and his Templars, and added a fourth vow of fighting against the infidel. These two orders, religious and military, were to be the chief stay of the new kingdom of Jerusalem. Its other supporters were a very fleeting quantity, always coming and going; but they were ever on the spot to give it their permanent aid. And, to speak of the Order of the Knights Hospitallers, or of the Knights of Malta, as they were afterwards called, we willingly subscribe to the dictum of one of their English historians: "When we look back on the glorious achievements which through so many centuries have adorned its annals, and mark the long list of names, ennobled by so many heroic deeds, which have been successively enrolled beneath its banners, we must render all praise to the mind that first contemplated the establishment of a brotherhood combining within its obligations such apparently contradictory duties, and yet fulfilling its purposes with so much lasting benefit to Christianity, and imperishable renown to itself."[2]

The patriarch Daimbert.

One of the many obstacles which prevented the forma-

[1] "Sane xenodochia, sive ptochia in Occidentis partibus penes burgum S. Ægidii (S. Giles), Asten, Pisani, Barum, Ydrontum, Tarentum, Messanam, Hierosolymitani nominis titulo celebrata, in tua et successorum tuorum subjectione . . . manere statuimus." *Ib.*

[2] Porter, p. 17 f. *Cf.* Hurter, *Tableau des Institutions de l'Eglise au Moyen Age*, ii. p. 97 ff., Paris, 1843.

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tion of a strong Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was the diverse nationality of its rulers, both spiritual and temporal. This naturally begot such jealousies and factions as rendered unity of action difficult in the highest degree.[1] Another of the effects of this difference of race which concerns us at the moment was the obscuring of truth. Writers of different nationalities have left on record very different notices of the same men and the same events. The unfortunate quarrel we are about to relate between the patriarch Daimbert[2] and King Baldwin I. was, we believe, largely based on racial prejudices; and we find quite opposite estimates of the characters of the principal personages in the quarrel in historians of different countries. Albert of Aix would make of Daimbert a slave of avarice and a thief, and would have us believe that he became patriarch of Jerusalem by the weight of his gold rather than of his character.[3] At the same time, he does not hesitate to depict his rival Arnulf, undoubtedly an intriguer, and probably a man of indifferent character, as distinguished for his prudence and eloquence.[4] But then Albert

[1] See the indignation of John of Wurzburg, who visited the Holy Land between 1160–1170, because greater credit for its capture was given to the French than to the Germans. The glory of the capture of Jerusalem, he says, was not given "to our Godfrey"—"non ei et cum eo egregie laborantibus, et exercitatis militibus Alemannis seu Germanis, sed quasi solis Francis, quod tamen *falsissimum*." *Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ*, c. 9, ap. *P. L.*, t. 155. Nationalism was at this time growing rapidly in Europe, and was no doubt accentuated by the Crusades.

[2] *Cf. supra*, vii. p. 306 f.

[3] *Hist. Hierosol.*, vii. 7. The value of the work of Albert is, as we have seen, not great; but it is this inferior production which Besant and Palmer elect to follow in their *Jerusalem*, London, 1871. They are so taken up with "the greed of ecclesiastics" generally that the accuracy of their work suffers in consequence.

[4] *Ib.*, vi. 39. Tudebod and Robert the Monk, both second-rate authorities in themselves, praise Arnulf; but they represent here, as elsewhere, the first-rate authority of the *Anon. Gesta Francorum*, which calls Arnulf "sapientissimum et honorabilem virum" (l. xxxix. 3).

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was a German, and his sympathies go with the German Baldwin. On the other hand, of the more impartial authors, Fulcher[1] praises Daimbert, and Raymond of Agiles condemns Arnulf; and with these authorities Albert cannot compare for a moment.

The quarrel between Daimbert and Baldwin began on the death of Godfrey (1100). The Italian patriarch wanted the Italian Bohemond to be the second king of the Holy City.[2] Failing in his efforts to secure the fulfilment of his wishes,[3] he was very naturally regarded with disfavour by the new king, Baldwin I., Godfrey's brother. The ill-feeling thus felt towards him by his sovereign was stimulated by the intriguer Arnulf,[4] and soon grew to such a pitch that Baldwin appealed to his suzerain,[5] the Pope, against him.[6] He was accused of treason, and of not giving the king moneys that were his due. To investigate the affair, Paschal, whom Albert calls "the inquisitor (*examinator*) of the Christian faith and religion throughout the world," dispatched "brother Maurice, one of the twelve cardinals."[7] If we are to believe the aforesaid author, for William of Tyre says nothing about this embassy of Maurice, the cardinal at first suspended Daimbert from

[1] *Hist.*, ii. 25.

[2] Albert, vii. 27, 46; Will of Tyre, x. 3–7; Guibert, *Gesta Dei*, viii. 11.

[3] For one reason because Bohemond had been captured by the Moslems about the time of Godfrey's death.

[4] Tyre, x. 2, 7, 25. *Cf.* Albert, vii. 58. *Cf.* ep. Pasch., 236. "In Daibertum . . . acerrime conspiratum esse noscitur."

[5] When Baldwin was crowned, "he submitted to be a vassal of the Church." Conder, p. 80, citing Rohricht's *Regesta Reg. Hierosol.*, 1893, No. 34.

[6] Albert, vii. 46.

[7] *Ib.*, c. 47. This "brother Maurice," whom Besant mistakenly calls "the Pope's brother," was the bishop of Porto. *Cf. supra*, p. 108. I cannot reconcile his dates with his own statements, or his statements with those of better-informed authors.

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his office.[1] Three hundred byzants, however, induced the king to persuade the legate to remove the suspension.[2]

But when, after his hatred or mistrust of Daimbert had been once more aroused, Baldwin wished the cardinal again to proceed against him, he found, according to the same gossiping historian,[3] that Maurice had been gained over to the patriarch's cause by good cheer and gold. So hardly, however, did the king press his patriarch for money, that he at length fled to join Bohemond at Antioch (1103).[4]

According to Albert of Aix, on the intercession of Tancred and other princes he returned soon after under a safe-conduct to Jerusalem, and was restored to his position preparatory to standing his trial.[5] Under the presidency of a new legate, the cardinal-priest Robert, a council was held, and the patriarch was duly tried. But, overwhelmed by the evidence brought against him, he held his peace, and was declared deposed and excommunicated.[6] However, from the more reliable evidence of a letter of Paschal, it would seem that he was condemned in his absence.[7]

[1] Albert, vii. c. 48.

[2] "Quo (the money) corruptus rex in omnibus deinceps petitioni patriarchæ acquievit." *Ib.*, c. 49.

[3] *Ib.*, cc. 51, 59.

[4] *Ib.*, cc. 58, 62. Tyre (x. 26) gives the proper date.

[5] L. ix. 14–16. [6] *Ib.*, c. 17.

[7] Paschal, in speaking (ep. 236, an. 1107) of the troubles of the Church of Jerusalem, alludes to the dispatch of one envoy only, viz. Cardinal Robert. He makes no mention of any Cardinal Maurice. What he says of the condemnation of Daimbert might possibly imply that he was present at the council, but refused to plead. But from the general tenor of the Pope's words and the silence of Tyre, I believe that he was not present at the council. "Tunc . . . in eumdem episcopum, *quia defecisse judicio videbatur*, depositionis sententia data est. Cæterum frater ille ad sedem apostolicam veniens, *non defecisse*, sed regio se fatebatur timore propulsum; apud nos itaque judicium executus est." Besides, Tyre (x. 25) distinctly says that after his flight to Bohemond, Daimbert remained with him all the time till they went to Apulia together, "cum eo . . . moram habuit continuam."

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Election of Ebremar, 1103.

Whether Daimbert was condemned in his presence or absence, a successor was given to him, with the consent of the cardinal, in the person of Ebremar, who, according to Albert, was a good and distinguished cleric; but who, according to William of Tyre,[1] was a priest, if pious, at any rate very simple. Next year Bohemond and Daimbert set sail for Italy to see the Pope (1104), the one going to seek help, the other justice.[2] Both obtained what they sought, but both died before they could profit much by the success of their quest. Paschal examined Daimbert's case at the Lateran synod of March 1105, and decided that he was to be restored to his see. But, as Ebremar had seemingly acted in good faith, he was not punished, but declared eligible for a vacant see.[3] For more than a year Paschal kept Daimbert in Rome to see if his accusers would come to make good their charges. None appeared, and in the spring of 1107 the partriarch set sail for Jerusalem, but he died on the voyage (May or June 1107).[4] Meanwhile, when Ebremar had heard of the Pope's action, he at once set out for Rome to justify his conduct.[5] Thither also went the intriguer Arnulf with what one cannot help but suspect must have been forged documents. Utterly unable to find out the truth between them, Paschal referred the matter to the Church of Jerusalem, and sent out as his legate the aged, learned, and virtuous Gibelinus, archbishop of Arles.[6]

Gibelinus patriarch, 1107.

A council which Gibelinus summoned on his arrival at Jerusalem found, on the evidence "of good and sufficient witnesses," that Daimbert had been expelled from his see "through the factions of Arnulf and the violence of the

[1] X. 26. [2] Fulcher, ii. 25. [3] *Ib.*, and ep. Pasch, 236.
[4] Tyre, xi. 4. [5] Fulcher, ii. 35; Tyre, *l.c.*; Albert, x. 57.
[6] Pasch. ep. 236, December 4, 1107; Tyre, *l.c.*; and a charter of King Baldwin, ap. Tyre, xi. 12.

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king," and decreed that, though Ebremar had to be deposed, he might be given the vacant See of Cesarea. The debate which then ensued as to a successor for Daimbert was at length closed by the unanimous election of the legate Gibelinus. Whereupon Arnulf, so it is said, consoled himself by the reflection that his age would not allow the archbishop to enjoy his new see very long.[1] It may be at once added that Gibelinus did not live very long (†1111), and that many will think that virtue was not rewarded when Arnulf, surnamed Malacorona, "the first-born of Satan," as William of Tyre calls him, became patriarch in his stead[2] (1111).

Extent of jurisdiction of the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch.

Paschal's new fief, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, brought him, as we have already given evidence enough, no little trouble. Its chief temporal ruler, Baldwin I., though in many ways fitted to be the successor of the immortal Godfrey de Bouillon, was a slave to the soft passion, that most expensive luxury of kings, and abundant source of their perennial insolvency.[3] The patriarch Arnulf, whom the Pope commissioned to rebuke the king for the looseness of his private life, was, it is to be feared,

[1] Tyre, xi. 4; ep. Pasch., 311; Albert, x. 58. A comparison of the last two citations from Albert with the other authorities will still further show how untrustworthy he is.

[2] Tyre, xi. 15; Albert, xii. 24. According to the last-named author, he went to Rome on his election, and succeeded in satisfying the Pope as to all that was alleged against him "de omnibus objectis excusatus." He certainly did go to Rome, but only after he had been suspended by a legate of the Pope. The result of his journey was as stated by Albert. *Cf.* ep. Pasch., 474, July 19, 1116. *Cf.* Tyre, xi. 26, who says he gained his way "blandis verbis et larga munerum profusione." He does not appear to have lacked courage; for, in obedience to instructions received from the Pope, he upbraided the king on his return for his dissolute life, and succeeded in bringing about a reform in his morals. Albert, *l.c.*

[3] It is far more likely that the upkeep of his mistresses was the cause of Baldwin's inability to pay his troops than the greed of the patriarch Daimbert.

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not much better than his royal master.[1] And the very legates whom Paschal sent to adjudicate in his stead on the difficult cases that arose in the new kingdom were, it would seem, not always above suspicion. Still, in connection both with them and the Popes themselves, we would note that the charge of taking bribes which the disappointed candidate or the prejudiced historian so frequently brings against them, is one that is most easily brought, and most readily believed, and yet one that is most difficult to prove. As those who are base enough to offer or to take the bribes are not too likely to blazon their acts abroad, bribery must in very many cases at least always remain a wholly unfounded charge.

Another trouble which Paschal had to face was caused by the policy of Baldwin, and the ambition of the new patriarchs of Jerusalem.

The king was naturally anxious that all the conquests made from the Saracens should as far as possible be under his personal control, both in the spiritual and in the temporal order. He was most desirous that the influence of such subordinate rulers as the princes of Antioch should not increase. Calling to mind (and William of Tyre is honest enough to say that the suggestions of the clergy perhaps helped to bring the fact to his mind)[2] that, before the coming of the Saracens, the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch was much more extensive than

[1] How far Paschal believed Arnulf's protestations to him of his innocence may perhaps be guessed from some of the concluding words of his letter announcing the patriarch's restoration. "Manifestum autem vobis omnibus esse volumus quod mulieres illæ de quibus, ut superius significatum est, idem patriarcha infamabatur, altera dicebatur uxor Girardi, altera Sarracena de qua filium genuerit." Ep. 474, an. 1116.

[2] XI. 28. "Decidit in mentem d. regi (et fortasse cleri suggestione ad hoc devenit) . . . d. papæ petitiones porrigeret," etc.

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that of the patriarch of Jerusalem, he sent to ask the Pope to agree that all the future conquests of the Crusaders should be subject to the See of Jerusalem.[1] To this request Paschal gave his assent on the ground that the old landmarks had been swept away by the infidels, and consequently that it was necessary to establish new ones.[2]

This action of the Pope not unnaturally roused the patriarch of Antioch, and he at once sent envoys to Rome to express his indignation at an attempt to curtail the ancient rights of his see. To pacify Bernard's wounded feelings, Paschal wrote him various letters, explaining that he had not had any intention of interfering with the just claims of Antioch, but that his distance from the localities in dispute, and the alteration of names which time and the infidels had brought to cities and provinces, had placed him very much in the dark about them.[3] Hence, as far as ever the changes wrought by time and the infidel rendered possible, it was his wish "not to lessen the rights of the churches because of the power of princes, nor on account of ecclesiastical dignities to hamper regal resources."[4] At the same time, he made known to Baldwin that, in the concession he had granted him, he had had no intention of interfering with the clear and undoubted rights of the Church of Antioch, and he begged him not to suffer such rights to be violated. "We cannot," he concluded, "oppose the sacred constitutions of our fathers."[5] But time was soon to show both the secular and ecclesiastical princes that they had better have spent their time in making fast what they had, than in quarrelling over futurities which were never to be theirs.

[1] Tyre, *l.c.*
[2] Epp. 323 and 324, an. 1111.
[3] Ep. 346, August 8, 1112.
[4] Ep. 359, March 18, 1113.
[5] Ep. 360, an. 1113.

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Mention of some of the deeds of Paschal to be post-poned.

Passing over the other works of this "wholly admirable Pope,"[1] we shall reserve the few facts we have found concerning his intercourse with Norsemen, Slavs, and Hungarians till we recount the relations of Calixtus II. with those peoples. This will prevent the scattering of the very insignificant number of such details which has reached us. Enough, we believe, has here been said to make manifest what manner of man was the gentle but energetic Paschal II., and to justify the assertion that, despite an occasional display of tender weakness, he was, both as a man and as a Pope, a worthy representative of the great reforming Pontiffs of his age.

[1] *E.g.*, the restoration of the monastery of S. Andrew on the Celian by this "vir per cuncta laudabilis." *Chron. del. monast. di S. And.*, ed. Carini, p. 26.

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GELASIUS II.

A.D. 1118–1119.

Sources.—An important and dramatic *Life* by Pandulf, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 311 ff.; Watterich, ii. 91 ff.; or *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 475 ff. A short notice by Peter the Deacon, *De viris illust. Casin.*, c. 45, ap. *P. L.*, t. 173, p. 1046. The *Annales Romani* (ap. *L. P.*, ii. 346 f., or Watterich, ii. 112 ff.) have something to say about Gelasius, as have Falco and other chroniclers previously cited. Twenty-eight of his letters are to be found ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 487 ff. In his bulls we generally find the words: "Ego Gelasius ecclesiæ catholicæ episcopus, signum manus meæ: 'Deus in loco sancto suo.'"

Modern Writers.—The *Vita del P. Gelasio II.*, by Costantino Gaetani, Rome, 1802, is a translation into Italian by F. Gaetani of Constantine's work, which, originally published in Latin in 1638, consisted of an edition, with elaborate notes, of the biography of Pandulf. Montalembert (*Monks of the West*, vii. p. 480 ff.) has, as usual, written well on this Pope.

Election of Gelasius.

WHEN Paschal II. died,[1] Rome, as we have seen, was anything but tranquil. A portion of it was in the hands of a party hostile to the Popes. The greater portion of the city was, however, in the hands of loyal subjects; and Peter, bishop of Porto, took steps immediately for the

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 81.

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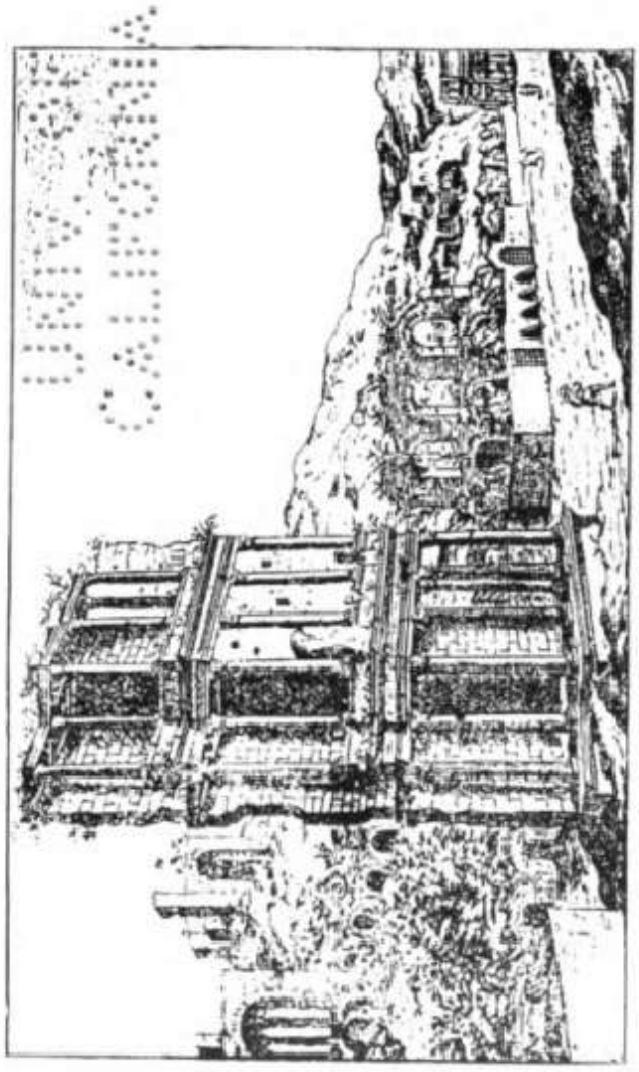

The Ruins of the Septizonium.
(From a sixteenth-century engraving.)

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election of a new Pontiff. The archdeacon and chancellor, John of Gaeta, who was staying at Monte Cassino at the time, was at once summoned to Rome.[1] On the prescribed third day after the death of Paschal, four out of seven cardinal-bishops, twenty-seven out of twenty-eight cardinal-priests, the eighteen cardinal-deacons, a number of the inferior clergy, and some "of the senators and consuls," met together in the monastery known as the Palladium, the site of which is now marked by the small Church of St. Sebastian *alla Polveriera*, or, as it is otherwise called, S. Maria *in Pallara*[2] (January 24, 1118). This building, which was on the Palatine, not very far from the Arch of Titus, belonged to the Roman Curia, and was regarded as a desirable meeting-place, because it was in the midst of those monuments of antiquity, the Arch of Titus, with its adjoining Turris Chartularia, the Septizonium, and the rest which the Frangipani had converted into fortresses.[3] After some debate, the chancellor John, archdeacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin, was unanimously elected Pope[4] (January 24, 1118).

[1] *L. P.*, ii. p. 312.

[2] A full account of this interesting church is given by Fedele, ap. *Archivio della R. Soc. Rom.*, 1903, p. 343 ff.

[3] "Monasterium . . . infra domos Leonis et Cencii Frajapane." *L. P.*, p. 313.

[4] *Ib.* "Unanimiter concordarunt." Pandulf pretends, no doubt falsely, in view of the decree of Nicholas II. (April 1059), that the only rôle played by the cardinal-bishops in this election was that of approving of the choice of the cardinal-priests and deacons. He adds: "quorum (the cardinal-bishops) nulla prorsus est alia in electione præsulis Romani potestas nisi approbandi vel contra, et ad communem omnium, cardinalium primum et aliorum, peticionem electo manus solummodo imponendi." But Pandulf was a partisan of the antipope Anacletus II., and it suited his electors to maintain this theory about the rights of the cardinal-bishops, concerning whom ("de quibusdam episcopis!") they told the Emperor Lothaire they cared nothing—"nobis cura ulla non est, præsertim cum *nil* ad eos de R. pontificis electione pertineat." See their letter ap. Watterich, ii. 185 ff. *Cf.* their letter (*ib.*, p. 187 ff.) to Bishop Didacus of Compostela. No doubt Pandulf himself was the author of these letters.

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Outrage committed by Cencius Frangipane,

The place in which the election had been held was near the papal palace of John VII., at the foot of the Palatine, and among the fortresses of a family which had long been faithful to the Holy See. It had therefore been regarded as most safe, but it proved to be one of the worst places in which it could have been held. No sooner was it made public that, despite his unwillingness, John of Gaeta was Pope Gelasius II., than Cencius Frangipane, whether acting in the interests of the Emperor Henry V., or, what is more likely, actuated by some personal vindictive motives, collected a band of his dependants and attacked the monastery. The papal guard was easily overpowered, and the church doors were burst open. Sword in hand, the noble ruffian dashed into the sacred building, seized the aged Pope by the throat, threw him to the ground, assailed him with blows, gashed him with his spurs, dragged him along by the hair, and threw him bound into one of his dungeons. The other prelates who were present were treated in a similar manner. After being robbed and maltreated in various ways, they were thrown on to horses with their faces towards the animals' tails.

But the triumphal hour of the Frangipani was short. Under Peter, the prefect of the city, Pierleone, Stephen the Norman, and other nobles, the militia of the twelve regions, of the Trastevere and the Island, rushed to arms, swarmed over the Capitol, and demanded the surrender of the Pope. The Frangipani, brave where there was no danger, were terrified. Throwing themselves at the Pope's feet, they begged for forgiveness, obtained it, and lived to harry the Church again.[1]

No sooner was the Pope released than he was mounted upon a white horse, and a crown was put upon his head. At the same time the whole city crowned itself with

[1] Direct from the *L. P.*

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garlands, while the Pope with the customary solemn procession made his way by the Meta Sudans and the Coliseum to the Lateran.[1]

Early years of Gelasius.

He whose election day was so fearfully memorable belonged to the noble family of the Coniulo of Gaeta,[2] and was born certainly before the year 1058. When a child, he was offered by his parents to Monte Cassino, and was there brought up under the famous abbot Desiderius.[3] Trained under able masters, he imbibed that culture which manifested itself not only in the various *Lives* of saints which he wrote whilst in the monastery,[4] but in his work in the papal chancellary. In that important department he was placed by Urban II., who brought him from his ever-beloved home in the monastery which overlooks the Garigliano. We have evidence of his work there certainly in 1089, and, according to some, as early as August 23, 1088.[5]

John as chancellor.

Urban's object in selecting the learned and eloquent young monk for a position in his chancellary was that he might assist in bringing back to the documents which

[1] "Bannis (bandis) et insignibus aliis eum præcedentibus pariter atque juxta Romanum ritum moremque sequentibus." *L. P.*, p. 314.

[2] Pandulf, "Hic a nobilibus juxta sæculi dignitatem parentibus"; "Gelasius, natione Gaiete ex patre Johanne Coniulo." *Ann. Rom.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 347. It has long been the fashion to suppose Coniulo a mistake for Consule. But Fedele, "Le famiglie di Anacleto II. e di Gelasio II.," ap. *Archivio di storia pat.*, 1904, p. 434 ff., has shown that the family of the Coniulo was well known at Gaeta at this period, and from the documents of the city gives us a genealogical tree of the said family, from which it appears that the grandfather of Gelasius II. was Anatolio Coniulo; his father, like himself, was Giovanni Coniulo, and his mother was Anna. Hence it would seem that all the labour spent by C. Gaetani and others to establish a connection between Gelasius and the family of the Gaetani, or of the Anicii, is not worth the paper on which its results have been written down.

[3] "Parvulus in Casino sub *Desiderio* (Pandulf is mistaken in saying Oderisius, the successor of Desiderius) . . . b. Benedicto oblatus." Peter, *De viris*, c. 45.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] But see Jaffé, 5365.

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issued from it some of the dignity of diction that used to distinguish them.[1] From the fifth century, from the days of St. Leo I., the Great (440-461), whose letters served as a model for them, the papal bulls were, till about the middle of the seventh century, distinguished by a certain rhythm, known from St. Leo as the *cursus leoninus*. This rhythmic *cursus* was produced by an ordered sequence of *accented* spondees and dactyls, giving respectively the *cursus tardus* or *velox*. Four and even more distinct varieties of style of diction were at one time recognisable in the documents which proceeded from the Roman Curia (*styli curiales*). After the seventh century the literary excellence of the papal epistles steadily deteriorated. But in connection with the century of which Paschal II. saw the opening years, it has been said that then "the literature of the papal bulls had its rules, its vocabulary, its grammar, and its masters, who, from the beginning of the twelfth century, drew up their formularies, and took rank with the canonists."[2] The principal author of this literary development was the chancellor of Urban II. and Paschal II., John Coniulo.[3] With the last-named Pontiff he had very great influence, for he stood by him in all his troubles, and, as Pandulf says, was the prop of his old age. Among other ways, he used this influence in securing the deserved promotion of

[1] "Papa litteratissimus . . . fratrem Johannem virum utique sapientem ac providum sentiens . . . suum cancellarium ex intima deliberatione constituit, ut per eloquentiam sibi . . . traditam antiqui leporis et elegantiæ stilum, in sede apostolica jam pene omnem deperditum . . . Johannes reformaret ac leoninum cursum lucida velocitate reduceret." Pandulf, p. 311—a most important passage for the history of the papal chancellary.

[2] Pitra, *De epp. et regist. RR. PP.*, p. 284. On this very curious subject see especially Valois, *Étude sur le rythme des bulles pontificales*, Paris, 1881. *Cf. supra*, vii. p. 263 f., and *infra*, under the biography of Gregory VIII.

[3] Peter the Deacon specifically states: "Descripsit registrum Paschalis P. II." *De viris*, c. 45.

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different members of the school of young secretaries whom he had trained.[1] John was no doubt also instrumental in finally fixing the *minuscule* as the alphabetic character in which the papal bulls were for the future to be written. The penmanship of the documents which issued from the papal chancellary varied at different times,[2] but the definite employment of the *minuscule* was settled by the dictum of Urban II., perhaps inspired by John of Gaeta, that there was need not only of drawing up documents, but of drawing them up in such a style that the faithful could read and comprehend them.

Put in charge, as archdeacon, of S. Maria in Cosmedin, he not only enriched and endowed that ancient deaconry with the goods of this world, with gold and estates, but furnished it with relics of the saints,[3] and made it conspicuous for the works of piety there practised.[4]

The news of the election as Pope of the industrious and learned[5] archchancellor,[6] the fifth monk since Gregory VII., was received with some misgivings by the bolder adherents of the principles of the Gregorian reformation. The fact that he had with some the reputation of being a friend of

The reception of the news of his election.

[1] "A quo pontifice (Paschal) . . . Gregorium de Cicano . . . Petrum Pisanum, etc. . . . *scriptores suos omnes* . . . presbiteros ac diaconos cardinales . . . fecit . . . promoveri." Pandulf, p. 312.

[2] Rodolico (*Note paleograf. e diplomatiche sul privil. pontif.*, pp. 107–108) distinguishes five different periods in the penmanship of the Roman bulls from the time of Paschal I.

[3] As an inscription in the church still testifies: "+ Infrascriptor. pia sacra Patrociniorum Gelasius justus dedit istic Papa secundus." Ap. *L. P.*, ii. 318.

[4] "Diaconiam . . . in religione præcipue, in quantum Roma patitur (!), super omnes inaltaverit." Pandulf, *ib.*

[5] "Industria et litterarum scientia excellentissime roboratus." *Chron. Mauriniacense*, l. ii., ap. *P. L.*, t. 180, p. 143. The said chronicle (1108–1147) is the work of Theulf, abbot (1110) of the monastery of Morigny, and of other monks of the same house.

[6] He filled the place of the honorary archchancellor, Frederick, archbishop of Cologne. *Ann. Rom.*

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the emperor,[1] and that he had throughout supported Paschal in all his timid courses, caused it to be feared that he would at least be as irresolute as his late master. When the fearless legate, Conon of Praeneste, was informed that John of Gaeta had been elected, but against his will, he exclaimed: "Did so great a man at such a moment of persecution and danger hesitate to take the burden of the Papacy on his shoulders? . . . Although, as God knows, I have never aimed at the Papacy, had I been in Rome I would have readily placed my shoulders beneath the burden, that I might the easier fight the enemy of the Christian faith, who ceases not to attack the Church of Christ. In time of peace, indeed, when often love of power fires ambition, no man, even endowed with ability, should take that office to himself except under compulsion, and no man lacking it should take it even under compulsion." [2]

The heroic exile, Conrad of Salzburg, on hearing of the election of John of Gaeta, is reported to have said: "Among the cardinals a worse choice could not have been made than that of John, but there may be some virtue in Gelasius." [3] The archchancellor of the Roman Church, Frederick, archbishop of Cologne, wrote about the beginning of March to a number of bishops assembled in synod at Milan, that if a legitimate successor had been given to Paschal,[4] who would in all things follow in his footsteps and in those of the Fathers, he would have the support of the whole

[1] Ekkehard (an. 1116) classes him among "regis fidelibus." *Cf. Vita Theog.*, ii. 9.

[2] *Vita Theog.*, ii. 9.

[3] Anon., *in vit. b. Theog.* (†1120), ii. c. 9., ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii. 470.

[4] Whom he highly praises: "Qui præbebat ornamenta cultui nostro patientiæ et caritatis . . . et sanæ doctrinæ catholicum inculcans argumentum." Ep. Fred., ap. Marténe, *Vet. SS. ampliss. coll.*, i. 641, ed. Paris, 1724.

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Gregorian party in Germany; "but if he show by his actions that he is a bishop not of God but of a man, and of the excommunicated, no persuasion nor condemnation will make us serve him."[1]

But even if there was no soundness in John Coniulo, there was much virtue in Gelasius. Many hailed his accession because "he was personally acquainted with nearly all the churches of the world, with their pastors and with their needs."[2] Besides, "with his name," says a contemporary, "he changed his character . . . glorified the Church, and, with Peter, was prepared to lay down his life for the liberty of the Church."[3]

Gelasius has to quit Rome, 1118.

As Gelasius was only a deacon, he awaited the coming of the Lenten Ember days to be ordained priest at the customary time,[4] though meanwhile he ruled the Church as as if he were already consecrated. Word of all that had happened since the death of Paschal had been forwarded to Henry at Verona "by the consuls."[5] Without loss of time he hurried to Rome with a small force, and entered the city secretly on the night of Friday, March 1–2.[6] The emperor's object in this hurried rush to the Eternal City was to wring concessions from Gelasius in return for his recognising him as Pope. But no sooner was his arrival made known than Gelasius, though old and feeble, was placed by his attendants on a horse, and hastily conveyed for the night from the Lateran to the house of Bulgamini.[7]

[1] Ep. Fred., *l.c.* He says he will be loyal to the assembled bishops: "sicut unum corpus sumus in Christo, ita catholici conatus vestri fautores . . . inveniemur in ipso, non desistentes a . . . S. matris nostræ recuperanda libertate."

[2] *Hist. Compost.*, ii. 4.

[3] Anon., *in vit. Theog.*, *l.c.*

[4] Falco, *Chron.*, 1118.

[5] *Ann. Romani*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 346.

[6] "D. Imperator furtive et inopinata velocitate Romam veniens, nos egredi compulit." Ep. 4. *Cf.* Pandulf and *Ann. Rom.*

[7] We find a Vulgaminus de Longarius witnessing a document in 1043. *Regesto di S. Alessio*, p. 376, ap. *Archivio di Storia Pat.*, 1904.

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It was situated near the Church of S. Maria in Secundicherio, *i.e.*, S. Maria Egiziaca, the little pagan temple of Fortuna Virilis near the Ponte Rotto, which John VIII. dedicated to our Lady in 872.[1] Its proximity to the Tiber and to the docks made it a suitable house of refuge.

On the Saturday Henry sent envoys to the Pope, calling on him "to put an end to the struggle" between them, *i.e.*, to grant him the right of investiture. Unable to do this, and unwilling to be treated by the emperor as Paschal had been, Gelasius went on board a galley that very night.[2] Accompanied by a number of cardinals and others in another galley, he made for Porto, but "the heavens and the earth and well-nigh everything in them," says Pandulf, "conspired against them." A terrible storm of hail and rain, with thunder and lightning, lashed the river and the sea to such fury that the two ships could hardly remain in safety in the harbour of Porto, much less put to sea. To make matters worse, the Germans, who had got word of the flight of the Pope and his followers, endeavoured to capture them, dead or alive. As they were not in possession of boats fit to face the storm, they fired upon the galleys with arrows, which Pandulf declares were poisoned, and threatened to burn them with a sort of Greek fire (*pennaci igne*), if the Pope were not surrendered. From these horrors Gelasius and his party were only saved by night and the violence of the storm.

As it was not safe to put to sea, the galleys were run ashore at Ostia, and the papal company made for the castle of

He may easily have been of the same family, and Gregorovius (*Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 381) says that inscriptions on the tombs of the De Vulgamineis are found as late as 1496 in S. Barbara Librariorum.

[1] Pand., and *Ann. Rom.*, and Duchesne's note 26, *L. P.*, ii. 320. According to Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, p. 598, there was a residence of the Secundicerius near this church.

[2] *Ann. Rom.*; *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 64.

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Ardea, some thirty miles away, which belonged to the monastery of St. Paul. The infirm Pontiff was carried on the back of the devoted cardinal, Hugh of Alatri, through the blinding darkness and storm for many a weary mile.[1]

When the daylight of Sunday (March 3) dawned, the Germans, finding that the galleys had been abandoned, and that the Pope had fled somewhere by land, retraced their steps. On Sunday night the poor Pope was hurried back to the Tiber, again put on board, and, though the storm had not quite subsided, was conveyed to Gaeta. There, after braving no little danger from the angry sea, he arrived on Tuesday, and received a most enthusiastic welcome from his fellow-citizens.[2]

Gelasius is consecrated, March 10, 1118.

As soon as the news of his arrival at Gaeta spread over south Italy, bishops, abbots, and barons flocked to him from all parts. With the lesser barons came William, duke of Apulia, Robert, prince of Capua, and others of the greater nobility, who renewed their oaths of fidelity to him. Then, in the presence of an immense crowd of people, he was ordained priest on the Saturday of Ember Week (March 9), and consecrated bishop by the three cardinal-bishops, whose privilege it was to perform that act, on the following day.[3]

The election of an antipope, March 8, 1118.

Meanwhile in Rome Henry's advisers, finding that Gelasuis was as little likely to be bent to their views as any of his predecessors, advised their master to provide himself with a Pope after his own heart. The ambitious and excommunicated Maurice of Braga was promptly selected for this mark of the emperor's confidence. Accord-

[1] "Ceperunt, immo cepit d. Hugo cardinalis . . . papam nostrum in collo ad castrum S. Pauli Ardea."

[2] Pandulf, etc.

[3] Pandulf, who adds that after Gelasius had been consecrated, "me Pandulfum hostiarium qui hec scripsi in lectorem et exorcistam promovit."

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ingly, with the applause of only a number of the old faction of the antipope Guibert, the Spanish bishop was installed as Gregory VIII., perhaps on the very day on which Gelasius himself was consecrated, but probably two days earlier.[1]

Henry was induced to take this extreme step, as unjustifiable as it was futile, owing to the failure of fresh negotiations into which he had entered with Gelasius after his flight from Rome.[2] Baffled by the Pope's escape from his hands, he dispatched envoys to Gaeta, who, by a judicious use of threats and flattery, were to endeavour to induce him to return to Rome. They were to assure the Pope that the emperor was anxious to confirm his election, and to be present at his consecration; but they were at the same time to make it plain that the election of an antipope would be the consequence of his refusal to come back to the Eternal City. After expressing his astonishment that

[1] Pandulf, *Ann. Rom.*, and the other authorities cited in Jaffé, sub. 7177. *Cf.* Epp. Gelas, 2, 6, 7, and especially 4 and 9. In the last-mentioned letter, Gelasius asserts: "In hoc tanto facinore nullum de Romano clero imperator socium habuit." He also asserts (ep. 4) that Maurice was intruded into the Roman See on the 44th day after his election, which would give March 8, the same day as is given by the *Ann. Rom.*; *i.e.*, on the old Roman system of counting both extremities. Otherwise the 44th day would bring us to March 9, the date given by Landulf junior, *Hist. Mediol.*, c. 32. The *Chron. Fossæ novæ*, an. 1118, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. 868, and the *Annal. Ceccan.*, 1118, give March 10. A sketch of the career of Maurice Bourdin, born in the village of Viozelanges, in the parish of Eyburie in Bas-Limousin, will be found in V. Forot, *Les Papes Limousins*, Paris, 1909 (?).

[2] It is certain that he entered into negotiations with him after his flight, but I am not sure whether the same can be said of those which he is credited with having opened with him on the day of his flight. Gelasius (ep. 4), after speaking of his flight, adds: "Pacem *postea* et nimis et terroribus postulavit." *Cf. Annal. Beneventani*, an. 1117 (1118), ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii., and Falco, 1118, who declaims against the emperor for being false to his position as guardian of the Church: "O nefas et terrible periculum, rex ille, qui Romanæ sedis et totius catholicæ ecclesiæ defensor et adjutor fieri deberet, novam hæresim et dira mortis genera per universum orbem induxit."

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the emperor, who had sent him word that he would come to Rome at Easter, had entered it by night before the appointed time,[1] Gelasius said that he would, with his fellow-bishops, discuss the question in dispute between the Church and the empire (*regnum*) either at Milan or Cremona on the forthcoming feast of St. Luke (October 18).[2]

On this occasion the astute emperor had brought with him to Rome allies of a fresh type, viz., professors of law, men who had revived at Bologna the study of the Code Justinian, and of the legislation of old Rome. Imbued with the ideas of the absolutism of the state therein embodied, these men and their disciples were to continue to prove themselves the most subtle agents of despotism, and the greatest enemies of personal freedom. Of these new supporters of the emperor, the most famous was Master Irnerius or Guarnerius, the father of the revival of the study of Roman law in the West, some of whose successors or disciples were to maintain "that the simple letter or rescript of the emperor has the force of law," and that "the emperor was really the lord of all property."[3] Obertus, archbishop of Milan, even assured the emperor, Frederic I., Barbarossa, that "his will was law" (1158).[4] Master Irnerius accordingly *explained* to the people the papal decrees about the election of Popes, and in consequence procured a number of them to acclaim Maurice Bourdin as Pope Gregory VIII.[5] But the prefect of the city and a number of the Roman nobles sent to assure Gelasius that they had had no hand

[1] Falco, 1118, quoting apparently from some lost letter of the Pope.

[2] Ep. 4.

[3] Carlyle, *A Hist. of Mediæval Political Theory in the West*, ii. 67 and 73. It is only fair to state that the best civilian lawyers did not hold these preposterous opinions. *Cf.* Otto Morena, *Hist. rer. Laudensium*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. p. 1017 f.

[4] "Tua voluntas jus est: sicuti dicitur, quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem." Rahewin, *Gesta Frid.*, iv. 5.

[5] Landulf jun., *Hist.*, c. 32.

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in the promotion of the excommunicated archbishop, and that they had no doubt that God would soon bring the designs of the wicked emperor to naught.[1]

Excommunication of the anti-pope.

Unmoved by the action of Henry and his quibbling lawyers, Gelasius, the representative of what Gregorovius calls "the rock of Peter, the *immobile saxum*,"[2] lost no time in notifying to the Catholic world what Henry had done, and in commending the firmness of those Romans who had resisted the emperor's bribes, threats, and cajoleries.[3] He also ordered the election of a new bishop for the See of Braga,[4] and on Palm Sunday (April 7) excommunicated Henry "and his idol" at Capua.[5]

The Pope returns to Rome.

Henry, meanwhile, to render the neighbourhood of Rome safer for his "idol," laid siege to the papal fortress of Torrice (Turricula),[6] some six miles east of Frosinone, above the road to Capua. As the garrison offered a stout and prolonged resistance, Gelasius was able to induce the Normans to come to his help. Under Robert of Capua they began their march on Rome. This movement so alarmed Henry that, hastily breaking up the siege of Torrice, he returned to the city, caused himself to be crowned by Maurice (June 2), and then, leaving his puppet-pope in Rome, began his return journey to Germany.[7]

[1] Falco, 1118. [2] *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 384.

[3] Ep. 2. On Henry's use of money to effect his ends, see the letter to him of the vicar he left in charge of Rome, viz., Bruno, archbishop of Trier (ap. Watterich, ii. 110): "Pecuniam quam domino meo maximo (Bourdin) et clientibus suis Romanis me largiri volebas, summa fide . . . distribui," July 1118.

[4] Ep. 7. [5] Ep. 9. *Cf.* Ekkehard, an. 1118, and *Chron. Cas.*, iv.

[6] Pandulf; *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 64; Bruno ep., *l.c.*, speaks of "oppida Romani territorii."

[7] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 64. Documents show Henry in the neighbourhood of Pistoja on June 21. Richter, *Annalen*, p. 605. "Quod (the advance of the Normans on Rome) Henricus præsentiens . . . via ipsa qua venerat, . . . Alemanniam rediit, ydolo quod plasmaverat intra Urbem relicto." Pandulf.

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The attack of the Normans on Rome was only partially successful; they drove the nobles who favoured the emperor across the Tiber, but they did not succeed in expelling the antipope's party altogether.[1] Although they marched home before they had completed their task, Gelasius returned to Rome about the beginning of July. He had, however, to take up his abode in the little Church of S. Maria "in Secundocereo," the old temple of Fortuna Virilis, in the midst of the fortresses of his friends.

Gelasius again assailed by the Frangipani.

So little assured was his power in Rome that, when he went to sing vespers in the Church of S. Prassede (July 21), a fierce attack upon it was made by the Frangipani, in the midst of whose strongholds it was.[2] The attack was as fiercely resisted by Stephen the Norman and the other friends of the Pope. In the midst of the fight, Gelasius managed to escape from the church, and, still partially clad in his sacred vestments, mounted a horse and fled out of the city towards St. Paul's outside-the-walls. When the Frangipani, among whom was the ungrateful Cencius, finding that their prey had fled, drew off, search was then made for the Pope by his friends. He was at length found in a field near St. Paul's, weary and sick at heart, broken in mind and body.[3]

Gelasius goes to Pisa, Sept. 2.

Rome, thus parcelled out between warring factions, was more than either Pope or antipope could endure. Bourdin retired to Sutri, leaving St. Peter's in the hands of his followers, and Gelasius determined to follow his example. "Let us fly from this city of blood," he said to those around him: "I would sooner have one emperor than many. One

[1] "Nobilitas tibi devota domibus relictis agmine trans Tiberim fugerat." Ep. Bruno., *l.c.*

[2] "Quia ecclesia in fortiis Frajapanum." Pandulf. Had another branch of the Frangipani entrenched themselves in the Baths of Titus, the Macellum Livianum, and other ruins of classical times?

[3] Pandulf.

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wicked one would at least kill the more wicked, till the Emperor of emperors come to bring him to justice."[1]

After nominating Peter, bishop of Porto, as his vicar, and the gallant Stephen the Norman as standard-bearer of the Church, Gelasius set out by sea for Pisa.[2] In conferring on the new archbishop, Walter, who had abjured the schismatical alliance of the Emperor Henry, the forfeited spiritual and temporal privileges of the See of Ravenna, he had already bestowed upon him the civil authority in those parts.[3] His intention in leaving Rome was to seek "the traditional friendship of the king of the French, and the sympathy of their church."[4] John of Crema, Pierleone, and other cardinals, and a number of Roman nobles accompanied the Pope.

Gelasius at Pisa, Genoa, and in France.

The aged Pontiff was received with the greatest honour not only by the Pisans themselves, but by crowds of people who flocked to the great maritime city from all parts of Tuscany. Profoundly moved by their affectionate enthusiasm, Gelasius addressed them with an eloquence "which Origen himself could scarcely have equalled."[5] Before he left the city in the beginning of October, he had consecrated the new cathedral Church of St. Mary, that glorious conception of Buschetto which had been begun in 1064, and which was the fruit of booty taken from the Saracens. All in bright marble, this noble building, with its arcades and its many columns, still stands as it was meant to stand, an enduring thank-offering to God, and as

[1] Pandulf.

[2] Pandulf says that Benevento was entrusted to the care of his uncle, Cardinal Hugh, and that but for him "the Normans and not the Pope would be holding it to-day." The Normans, then, were scarcely trustworthy allies of the Papacy.

[3] "Confirmamus etiam vobis ducatum Ravenna." Ep. 13, August 7, 1118.

[4] Suger, *in vit. Lud.*, c. 26.

[5] Pandulf.

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a lasting memorial of the patriotic people who caused it to be built. So delighted was the Pope with what the Pisans had done for the honour of God and for the cause of Christ against the Moslems, that he made their bishop a metropolitan, and subjected to him the bishops of Corsica.[1]

From Pisa he went by boat to Genoa, to Marseilles, and then by the Petit Rhône to St. Giles, where he gave the famous St. Norbert, the founder of the Premonstratensians, "permission to preach wherever he wished,"[2] and then to Maguelonne (November). In France, where saints were offering up for him their last dying prayers,[3] and where appeals were waiting for his decision,[4] the aged Pope, though poverty-stricken[5] and quite worn out by the hardships of his journey, was received with every demonstration of respect and joy.[6]

Gelasius in France.

But if the good people of France could make a rich man of a pauper,[7] they could not renew the youth of the Pope, nor change sickness into health. Still, the old and feeble Pontiff made a brave use of the few weeks of life that were

[1] *Gesta triumph. Pisana*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. 105; *Brev. Pis. Hist.*, an. 1119, *ib.*, p. 169.

[2] *Vita Norberti*, c. 5, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii. 674. *Cf.* Geudens, *The Life of S. Norbert*, c. 3. Gelasius would have kept Norbert by his side; but for this honour the saint professed his unfitness. See his original *Life*, c. 10, ap. *P. L.*, t. 170. *Cf.* Madelaine, *Vie de S. Norbert*, l. i., c. 6.

[3] See the *Life* of Robert d'Arbrissel, ap. *Acta SS. Bolland.*, ii., Feb., p. 615.

[4] *Cf.* Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, l. v. pp. 248, 249, R. S.; Montalembert, *Monks*, vii. 496, 497.

[5] "Pauperie quippe multa angebatur," says Suger, *l.c.*, who met him at Maguelonne by the orders of Louis.

[6] *Cf.* Pandulf, Falco, and Eadmer, *l.c.*, "Adventus ejus mox Galliæ toti innotuit. Excitati sunt quique potentes cum mediocribus ei occurrere."

[7] "Quantas autem divitias . . . partibus in illis apostolicus ille lucratus est, si describere vellem," etc. Falco, an. 1118.

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left him. He interviewed the envoys of Archbishop Ralph;[1] granted privileges to bishops and monasteries; took certain abbeys under his protection;[2] dedicated churches; settled disputes;[3] showed a great interest in the prosecution of the war against the Moors in Spain;[4] held a synod at Vienne (January 1119), and ordered the assembling of an important one for March 1119.[5] Indeed, we are assured that he was forming plans for the carrying out of many new and hitherto unheard-of schemes,[6] when he was seized with his last illness.

The last illness of Gelasius, Jan. 1119.

Feeling that his end was nigh, he gave orders that he should be conveyed to Cluny. There he was received with the greatest honour, and treated with the tenderest care; and there, "as though he were St. Peter himself," he was visited by bishops and nobles. All who came to see him were comforted and edified.[7] At length, after he had provided as well as he could for those loyal hearts who had followed him into exile, or whom he had left behind him in Rome, feeling that the pleurisy which had seized him was about to end his life, he called his cardinals and the monks about him. Causing himself to be laid on the

[1] Eadmer, *l.c.* *Cf.* Falco. He wrote to Henry of England to say that if Ralph and Thurstan could not agree they were to be sent to him. Stubbs, *Actus Ebor.*, ap. Twysden, p. 1715. See above, p. 94 ff.

[2] Jaffé, 6663 (4904), the archives of the Lateran Palace (*Lateranensis palatii tomos*) being adduced to show the origin of some of them.

[3] Jaffé, 6666, 6673, 6676, etc.

[4] *Ib.*, 6661 (4902); 6665 (4906).

[5] *Ib.*, 6660-6661. "In quo se magnâ dispositurum credebat." *Hist. Mauriniac. monast.*, l. ii., ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 38. It is a contemporary document.

[6] It was the envoys of Archbishop Ralph who returned with the news that they found Gelasius "multa nostris sæculis nova et inaudita proponentem facturum." Ead., *l.c.*, p. 249.

[7] Pandulf, "De letis qui veniebant letiores effecti, demum celestibus ferculis medullitus epulati redibant."

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ground, he confessed his sins, and received the Body and Blood of our Redeemer.[1]

Among the bishops who had flocked to greet the suffering Pontiff, was one of the great heroes of the giant struggle between the Church and the empire, Cardinal Conon of Palestrina (Praeneste). Singling him out from among the bishops around him, Gelasius expressed his wish that he should be recognised as his successor. "God forbid, Holy Father, that so great an honour and so heavy a burden should be laid upon me, unworthy and miserable as I am. The Roman Church in our days needs to be defended against persecution by temporal riches and influence. If you would take my advice, it would be to elect the archbishop of Vienne, a man both religious and prudent, and, moreover, possessed of worldly rank and power. By God's help and the merits of St. Peter he may be able to deliver the Roman Church, so long oppressed and threatened, and to lead her to peace and victory."[2]

This disinterested counsel recommended itself to all, and messengers were straightway dispatched to urge the archbishop to hasten to the Pope's death-bed.[3] But Gelasius had made his last effort for the Church, and, as a faithful monk expresses it, "in his own house its own master rested in peace at Cluny" (January 29, 1119).[4]

Amid general grief this "father of justice," who in his sufferings as Pope was an image of his Divine Master, if

Burial of Gelasius.

[1] "Juxta normam monasticam strato terræ corpusculo." *Ib.* According to Suger (*in vit. Ludovic.*, c. 26), he had long been suffering from gout; and, according to the same writer, King Louis was on his way to see him when he died.

[2] Falco, an. 1118; translation from Montalembert, *Monks*, vii. 513.

[3] He had been already ordered by Gelasius to join him at Cluny. Ep. 1, Calixt.

[4] Ep. of Hugh of Cluny to Abbot Pontius, ap. *P. L.*, t. 166, p. 844. *Cf.* Pandulf, and Jaffé, sub 6681.

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ever any man was, was most honourably interred in the great church at Cluny. His tomb, which was still to be seen in the eighteenth century, was situated "between the cross and the altar, behind the choir."[1] What is often quoted as his epitaph is really a poem by Peter of Poitiers, chancellor of the Church of Paris, who died as late as 1205. It begins: "Vir gravis et sapiens actu verboque Joannes,"[2] and notes that John of Gaeta was a worthy second to Gelasius I., but does not add to our knowledge of him who "slept his last sleep in the special harbour of refuge of the Roman Church—Dormiit in proprio Romani juris asylo."

The number of terribly tragic episodes which were crowded so thickly in the brief pontificate of Gelasius have justly earned him the compassion of writers of every school of thought. "His pontificate," writes Gregorovius,[3] "had only lasted a year and four days, and within this span of time the sorrows of a life had been compressed. No sensitive man can look unmoved by feelings of sympathy on the unfortunate figure of this last sacrifice to the struggle for investiture."

[1] *Chron. Cluniac.*, ap. Bouquet, *Recueil des hists.*, xii. 313, quoted *L. P.*, ii. 321.

[2] It may be read ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 473, or Watterich, ii. 114.

[3] *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 390.

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CALIXTUS II.

A.D. 1119–1124.

Sources.—The biographies by Pandulf and Boso. The work of Boso,[1] who came to the pontifical court only thirty years after the election of Calixtus, is now of independent value, though it is not free from mistakes. The doings of the important council of Rheims (1119) are told us with great detail by Hesso, the *scholasticus* of Rheims or Strasburg, who was an eye-witness of what he relates (*Relatio de conc. Remensi*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163; *M. G. SS.*, xii., or *Libell.*, iii.; Watterich, or Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, etc.). He is not favourable to the Emperor Henry V. Udalscalcus, of the noble family of Maisack, and abbot of the monastery of SS. Udalric and Afra at Augsburg (1124–*c.* 1150), has left us two works (both ap. *P. L.*, t. 170, and *M. G. SS.*, xii.), from which a little useful material for the *Life* of Calixtus may be gleaned, viz., *De controv. inter Hermannum ep. Augustanum et Eginonem abbatem S. Udal., occasione investiturarum*, and *Carmen de obitu Eginonis*. The chronicle of *Tres Tabernæ* in Calabria supplies us with some information on the work of Calixtus in the extreme south of Italy. A new edition of it has recently (Rome, 1906) been issued by E. Gaspar. The worth of this brief chronicle of Roger, canon of Cantanzaro (fl. 1120),[2] has been the subject of much discussion. But the use of better MSS. and a more carful study of it has enabled Gaspar to clear up many

[1] Ap. *L. P.*, ii. 376 f. See *supra*, p. 2.

[2] Roger had to work from Greek sources, and he acknowledges that he was not too familiar with that language.

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difficulties, to present us with a more reliable text, and to assure us that, if the light it sheds on the times it treats of is local and feeble, it is nevertheless useful, as it shines where the darkness is intense. The *Register* of Calixtus, which was extant in the fifteenth century,[1] is now lost; but Migne (*P. L.*, t. 163) has collected some 280 of his letters, most of them as usual privileges. U. Robert, however, in his *Bullaire du P. Calixte II.*, 2 vols., Paris, 1891,[2] has published over five hundred. It is from his collection that we shall quote. He has noted that the head of the well-staffed chancellary of Calixtus II. was also his librarian (*bibliothecarius*), and that the device running round the *wheel* (*roue*), or circular stamp which often appears on his bulls, is "Firmamentum est Dominus timentibus eum."

Modern Works.—Histoire du P. Calixte II., by U. Robert, Paris, 1891, is very satisfactory and of the first importance, though its arrangement might be improved. Montalembert's *Monks of the West* unfortunately closes with the story of Calixtus II., vol. vii. p. 514 ff.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

Emperor of Germany.	King of France.	King of England.	Emperor of the East.
Henry V., 1106–1125.	Louis VI., the Fat, 1108–1137.	Henry I., 1100–1135.	John Comnenus, 1118–1143.

[1] U. Robert, *Bullaire du P. Calixte II.*, i. p. xiv.

[2] His *Étude sur les Actes du P. Calixte II.*, Paris, 1874, is superseded by his *Bullaire*, for which it was a preparation.

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CHAPTER I.

THE ELECTION OF GUY OF VIENNE, AND HIS EARLY LIFE.

ACTING on the advice of Cardinal Conon, the dying Gelasius had commended to those around his bedside Guy of Vienne as his successor.[1] Accordingly, when, after the Pope's death, the archbishop reached Cluny, he was at once, despite his reluctance, elected to fill the vacant see by the cardinals and Romans who had accompanied Gelasius into France.[2] His disinclination to accept the burden of the Papacy[3] was the more real because he did not know whether the cardinals in Rome would confirm the action of their brethren in France. Moreover, he was happy in his native Burgundy, and, on the other hand, clearly understood the insolent turbulence of the Romans. Vienne, he said, was not a rich church, but it was rich enough for him, and in the whole of Burgundy there was scarcely anyone of

Election of Guy of Vienne, Feb. 2, 1119.

[1] Geoffrey, who was prior of Vigeois in 1178 (*Chron.*, ap. Bouquet, *Recueil des hists.*, xii. 432), and the *Hist. Compost.*, ii. 9 (ap. Florez, *España Sag.*, xx. 270), say that Gelasius also thought of the abbot Pontius as a possible successor.

[2] This was on the second day after his arrival at Cluny. Ep. 1, Calixt. According to Suger (*in vit. Ludovic.*, c. 25), he assisted at the funeral of Gelasius, which must therefore have taken place on January 31. The same author says that it was enigmatically revealed to Guy the night before his election that he was to be Pope. In his sleep he seemed to see a very dignified person commit to his charge the moon (which was often used as a figure of the Church), covered with a cloak.

[3] This is mentioned by all the historians, Pandulf, Falco, etc., as well as by Calixtus himself. "Invitum me ac penitus renitentem in Romanæ Ecclesiæ pontificem Calistum unanimiter assumpserunt." Ep. 1.

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name who was not his relation or dependant.[1] But the Roman Papacy, while more than honourable, was a most grievous burden. "In Rome," he continued, "I shall find as many princes as cardinals, and as many masters as citizens."[2]

According to the authors of the history of Compostela,[3] no sooner did Guy's numerous escort hear of his election as Pope than, in a paroxysm of grief at the thought of losing their beloved pastor, they burst open the monastery gates, rushed in, and, violently tearing from their archbishop the cope (*pluviale*), stole, and the other papal insignia, they cried out: "Why are you plotting to deprive us and all France of so great a pastor? Let the Romans choose another bishop; they shall not have ours." After a time, however, wiser counsels prevailed, and, realising the honour which had come to their city, they conducted their late archbishop through Lyons, where he had a most splendid reception, back to Vienne.[4] There he was solemnly installed and crowned as Pope on Quinquagesima Sunday (February 9).[5]

Confirmation of the election sought at Rome.

Though thus duly proclaimed Pope, and though, as the well-informed history of the monastery of Maurigny assures us, the cardinals who had accompanied Gelasius had arranged with those in Rome that, if anything happened to the Pope in France, it should be lawful for them to elect his

[1] "Vix quemquam alicujus nominis in tota terra Burgundia inveniebam, qui mihi vel nepos vel consanguineus, propinquus vel meus homo non esset." Hugh the Chantor, *Vita Turstini*, ap. *Historians of York*, ii. 163, R. S.

[2] "Romæ . . . quot cardinales tot principes; quot cives tot domini." *Ib.*

[3] II. 9. [4] *Cf.* ep. Cononis, 9, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163, p. 1438.

[5] *Ib.* Concerning his translation from the See of Vienne to that of Rome, Hugh the Chantor gives us these quaint couplets, *l.c.*, p. 154:—

"Sponsum (Guy, Pope Calixtus) sponsa (the Church of Vienne) suum dimisit, filia (Vienne) matri (Rome),
Mater eum rapiens fecit eam viduam.
Alter habebit eam (Vienne) forsan vivente priore (Guy),
Nec de quatuor his ullus adulter erit."

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successor,[1] still, he was unwilling, like St. Leo IX., to make much use of his new powers until his election had been confirmed at Rome. The cardinals who had elected him had at once dispatched one of their number, Rocemanus, the cardinal-deacon of St. George in Velabro, to the Eternal City in order that he might notify to the cardinals there what they had done. Peter, cardinal-bishop of Porto, whom Gelasius had left as his vicar in Rome, at once assembled the electors. They came together on the 1st of March[2] into the Church of St. John *de insula*, and, if we are to believe Pandulf, the influential nobleman Pierleone worked as hard in Rome for the confirmation of the election of Calixtus as his son, the cardinal, had in France to secure him that election. At any rate, the election was confirmed without any difficulty, and the cardinals in Rome lost no time in signifying this not only to their brethren at Cluny, but to the Christian world at large.[3] The new Pope, they said, was prayed for in the liturgy of the Church, and his name was inscribed in the documents which were issued from the papal chancellary.[4] Even some of the followers of the antipope sent in their adhesion to an election which they praised as "free from the taint of simony and ambition."[5]

Guy of Vienne. The man and his family.

Guy of Vienne, who was thus acknowledged Pope by the Catholic world, was born probably about the year 1060,[6] and was a scion of one of the best-connected houses in

[1] They arranged "quasi præsago spiritu ducti" that "ipsi in partibus nostris eligendi pontificem potestatem habuissent." *Hist. Maurin. Monast.*, l. ii., ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 39.

[2] See one of the letters of the cardinals in Rome to those who elected Calixtus, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 351, and the election decree, ap. Watterich, ii. 122. In the Church of St. John Calybite, on the island of the Tiber, the electors would be under the protection of the Pierleoni. *Cf. Chron. Cas.*, iv. 64.

[3] Epp. 192–197, *ib.*

[4] Ep. 196, *l.c.*

[5] See their letter, ap. Martène and Durand, *Ampliss. collect.*, i. 649.

[6] *Cf.* ep. Urb. II., 134, ap. *P. L.*, t. 151.

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Christendom. His father was William, surnamed the Great, or Tête-Hardie, sovereign count of Burgundy, who had been a great ally of Gregory VII.[1] His mother, Stephania (Étienette), who brought to her husband the county of Vienne, had at least nine children. Through this large number of brothers and sisters, or through his parents, Guy was related to most of the great reigning families of Europe. He was cousin of our own King Henry I.[2] and of the Emperor Henry V.[3] His niece Adelaide[4] was the wife of King Louis VI. of France; and in his letters he makes frequent mention of his nephew Alfonso VII., king of Castile,[5] and of his sister Clementia,[6] wife of the count of Flanders. Of his three brothers who died fighting for the cause of Christianity in the East, he often speaks of Hugh, who was archbishop of Besançon;[7] and though Clementia seems to be the only one of his sisters whose name appears in his letters, the others seem to have been equally illustrious, and through their distinguished marriages brought him into close touch with many great families.

Guy's character was apparently on a par with his great family. His piety and energy, his love of justice, and his

[1] *Cf.* ep. Greg. VII., i. 46.

[2] "Quorum avus et avia frater et soror fuerant." Hugh the Chantor, *in vit. Turstini*, *l.c.*, p. 169. Calixtus alludes to this relationship in a letter to Henry (ep. 94), and in his discourse at the council of Rheims, ap. Ordericus, *H. E.*, xii. 21.

[3] Ep. Calixt., 278. The Empress Agnes, grandmother of Henry V., was niece of Count Raymond, grandfather of Calixtus. Montalembert, *Monks*, vii. 569.

[4] Ep. 485. She was the daughter of Gisela, Guy's sister.

[5] Epp. 32, 146, 151. Guy's brother Raymond had married Urraca, the daughter of Alfonso VI. of Castile and Leon. Her son was Alfonso VII. of Castile and Leon, the emperor. He was the ancestor of St. Ferdinand III., and of Isabella the Catholic.

[6] Epp. 77, 218.

[7] Epp. 4, 26, etc. He also alludes (ep. 15) to his great-grandfather (*abavus noster*), Count Otho William.

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Cliché, A. Breger Frères, Paris.

Quingey: the old tower is believed to be a remnant of the castle in which Calixtus II. was born.

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open-handed generosity are the common theme of writers, both ancient and modern.[1]

Little or nothing is known of his early years. Fable has, however, endeavoured to fill up this gap in our knowledge. In a letter which is supposed to have been written by him, and which is prefixed to a work, *Liber de miraculis S. Jacobi*,[2] which is also said to have been from his hand, he is made to say that, when he was a student, he spent fourteen years in travelling through various lands, civilised and uncivilised, collecting all that had been written about St. James the Apostle, whom he had loved from his infancy. In the course of his wanderings, he encountered perils from fire, from robbers, and from shipwreck, and though he frequently lost all else that he had, the volume in which he had recorded what he had learnt about the apostle was never taken from him. In a vision he was ordered by the Son of God Himself to complete his account of the miracles of St. James, and to punish all wicked pilgrims who were on their way to his shrine at Compostela. Unfortunately, the letter which tells this pretty story is as little authentic as the book of which it speaks.[3]

It is more probable that the place of Guy's birth was the château of Quingey on the Loue,[4] one of the residences of the counts of Burgundy; that he was educated in the school of the chapter of St. John at Besançon;[5] that his abilities were the reason of his being ordained priest before the age fixed by the canons, and that he soon rose to honour among the clergy of Besançon.[6]

[1] Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, v., an. 1119; Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. 390.
[2] Ap. *P. L.*, t. 163. [3] Robert, ch. xiv.
[4] In August 1908, I was shown an old tower in the little village of Quingey, in the arrondissement of Besançon, which I was assured once formed part of the castle in which Calixtus was born.
[5] Ep. 262, to the bishop of Besançon. "Ab ipso pueritie nostre tempore in illis educati partibus fuimus." [6] Robert, pp. 4-6.

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Archbishop of Vienne, 1088. His dispute with St. Hugh of Grenoble.

At any rate it is certain that in due course he was elected archbishop of Vienne, seemingly in 1088, and that he soon after came to Rome and endeared himself to Urban II., who highly extolled his merits.[1] When he returned to his diocese, he devoted his influence and energy to the ordering especially of its temporal well-being. Unfortunately, it is so often true that the sight of the means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done, and that the powerful easily confound might and right. And as David first coveted and then seized Naboth's vineyard, so Guy of Vienne first coveted, then seized and tried to keep by violence and fraud the churches of the *pagus Salmoracensis* (Sermorens), a county on the borders of the dioceses of Vienne and Grenoble, the capital of which has now fallen to the low level of a suburb of Voiron[2] in the Isère.

When Guy became archbishop, it is acknowledged that spiritual jurisdiction over the said district had for a hundred years and more been in the hands of the bishops of Grenoble, suffragans of the archbishops of Vienne, and that it was then exercised by St. Hugh, bishop of Grenoble.[3] Pretending, however, that one of his predecessors had indeed, in the days of the Saracen trouble, entrusted the ecclesiastical government of the locality to the bishop of Grenoble, but for a time only, Guy boldly claimed it.

[1] Epp. Urban, 3 and 33, ap. *P. L.*, t. 151. *Cf.* ep. Calixt., 145, and *Series episc. Viennensium*, a thirteenth-century document, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv.

[2] This town is some forty miles south-east of Vienne, and about twenty north-west of Grenoble.

[3] The details of this dispute between Guy and St. Hugh are known to us only through a memoir drawn up by St. Hugh. Hence, even though the document is the work of a saint, it is not to be expected that the doings of Guy in this affair will appear at their best. The memoir has been printed, among other places, in the *Vie de S. Hugues*, by A. du Boys; and in the *Cartulaires de l'église cathédrale de Grenoble*, by J. Marion.

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But finding that his arguments were not likely to stand the searching examination of other bishops before whom the case was brought, without more ado he took violent possession of the county.[1] Urban was now appealed to by Bishop Hugh, but Guy circumvented an adverse decision of the Pope's delegate, by secretly sending to Rome, judiciously expending five hundred solidi among the members of the Roman Curia, and obtaining from the Pope, who was ignorant of the judgment of his legate, a confirmation of the privileges of his see, among which jurisdiction over Sermorens had been inserted.[2] Such a confirmation was, of course, not worth the parchment on which it was engrossed, and was promptly repudiated by Urban as soon as he learnt the truth. But Guy would not give up what he had seized. Carried on by obstinate adherence to a bad case, he stopped at nothing to gain his point. He connived, at least, at the forging of false documents; he made promises and deliberately broke them; set at naught the sentences of Pope and council; and went the length of putting armed pressure on Urban when he came to France. Even when the punishments inflicted upon him by the Pope caused him to yield, he seized the opportunity furnished him by an illness of St. Hugh in Italy of again possessing himself of the district in dispute. Urban died before he could vindicate his outraged authority, and in the final settlement of the quarrel effected by Paschal II., we do not see the triumph of the right. When that Pontiff was in Lyons in January 1107, he caused the contending parties to agree to a division of the county. Each bishop

[1] "Quod juditio non potuit, . . . violenter abstulit." Marion, *Cartulaires*, p. 49.

[2] "Pro cujus impetratione (viz. the confirmation of his privileges), sicut ipse nobis postea confessus est, quingentos solidos in Romana curia dispensavit, . . . D. papa ipsius pagi (Sermorens) querimoniam prorsus ignorante." *Ib.*, p. 50.

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was to have eleven churches, and though some slight compensation was given to St. Hugh for the loss of eleven churches, the archbishop was to keep the right of ordaining the clergy and consecrating the altars for the entire county.[1] For the sake of peace and deference to the Pope Hugh agreed to this compromise, the whole gain of which was on the side of his opponent.

Even when Guy of Vienne became Pope Calixtus II., he does not appear to have righted the wrong which his high-handed conduct caused ultimately to be inflicted on the See of Grenoble. When, as Pope, he was occupied not unnaturally with bestowing favours on his former see—granting its occupant the right of having his cross carried before him throughout the whole of his province, and of not being subject to any other legate but one direct from the Pope (*a R. pontificis latere*)—he seems to have denied to the See of Grenoble even the rights granted it by Paschal.[2] Fortunately, as Robert pertinently notes, there are more beautiful pages in the life of Guy of Vienne.

Various doings while archbishop.

If his embassy to England in 1101 as papal legate was not a success, it was not his fault,[3] and did not prevent his friend Pope Paschal from making him his legate in France in succession to Hugh, archbishop of Lyons († October 1106).

A year or two later, seemingly in 1109, he went into

[1] Ep. Pasch., 228, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163.

[2] Ep. 25. "Sane in Salmoracensi *archidiaconia* (no longer *pagus*; so that it is not quite clear to what extent of the *pagus Salmoracensis* he refers) consecrationes vel ordinationes et quicquid ad pontificale officium pertinet, Viennensis ecclesia preter alicujus inquietationem seu diminutionem habeat." He would appear also to have given back to Vienne the Church of Blessed Donatus, which had been granted to St. Hugh in part compensation for the loss of a portion of the county of Sermorens. *Cf.* ep. 145. On this dispute, in addition to the memoir of St. Hugh, see Jaffé, 5523-5524 (4134-4135); 5548 (4154); 5568 (4166); 5591; 5595 (4189); 5609; 5685 (4259).

[3] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, l. iii. p. 126, R. S. See *supra*, p. 84.

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Spain to be nominated along with Diego, bishop of Compostela, tutor to his young nephew, Alfonso VII., whom his dying grandfather, Alfonso VI., named ruler of Galicia.[1] It was no doubt on this occasion that he first began to take that interest in Compostela and its bishop which he showed so strongly when he became Pope.[2]

We have already spoken of the uncompromising attitude which he took up towards the Emperor Henry V. on the question of investiture, and of the great influence which he thereby exercised on the stand which Paschal at length made against the brute force of the German monarch.[3] If he did not shrink from excommunicating Henry himself, he did not, we may be sure, hesitate to treat his creatures in the same way. A few years later, we find him anathematising our countryman, Henry, archdeacon of Winchester. He had escorted into Germany Henry's betrothed, Matilda, the daughter of Henry I. of England. For this, through her influence, he had been nominated bishop of Verdun by the emperor. Guy insisted on his submission to the Pope, and had the pleasure of seeing him offer it to Cardinal John of Crema, who acted in Paschal's behalf.[4]

It was from the midst of hard work for his diocese, and useful labours for the Universal Church, that Guy of Vienne was called to fill the Chair of Peter.

[1] *Hist. Compost.*, i. 46, ap. *Esp. Sag.*, xx. [2] Robert, p. 28.

[3] *Supra*, p. 66 ff. On this and other acts of Guy as archbishop see Robert, ch. iv.

[4] "Guido etiam Viennensis, legatus apostolicæ sedis, eum excommunicavit." Laurent., *Gesta epp. Virdun.*, c. 24, ap. *P. L.*, t. 204. It was the aim of the Norman nobles who accompanied Matilda into Germany "to carve out for themselves the highest honours by their valour and intrepidity." Ord. Vit., *H. E.*, xi. c. 38. Most of them, however, had not the success of Henry of Winchester, but were sent back to England by the emperor with presents.

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CHAPTER II.

CALIXTUS II. IN FRANCE. HIS FIRST RELATIONS WITH THE EMPIRE.

The council of Toulouse, July 1119.

BEFORE leaving Vienne, where he had been crowned, Calixtus adopted the advice which had been given him by the Roman cardinals, and summoned a council to meet at Rheims in the following autumn, to deliberate as to the best means of providing for the peace and freedom of the Church.[1] He then began a tour through France, which was to occupy him nearly a year, and which was in every way productive of the greatest good. Apart from presiding at local councils, conferring privileges, consecrating churches, and the performance of other similar functions, his intention was by personal interviews to endeavour to influence for good the emperor and the kings of France and England. Meanwhile, he lost no time in exhorting the leaders of the church party in Germany not to allow themselves to be contaminated by the tyrant's abominable investiture.[2]

In the beginning of July Calixtus entered the ancient city of Toulouse, and there, on the 8th or 9th, opened a council at which were present a number of bishops not only from the south of France, but from the north of Spain. This council is memorable not so much because it

[1] "Ex consilio autem nostro, si vobis placet, D. papæ suggerite *concilium* celebrare, de pace, si fieri potest, et de ecclesiæ liberatione tractare." Letter of the Roman cardinals to the cardinals in France, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 350. *Cf.* epp. Cal., 7, 32, 44–47.

[2] Ep. 7, to Archbishop Frederic of Cologne, April 1119. "Caveas ne pessima investitorum a tyranno illo putredine tua sinceritas contingatur."

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condemned simony and the plundering of church property by the laity, as because it anathematised doctrines which were to be propagated in the same locality by the Albigensians with such terrible consequences, and because we see it here authoritatively proclaimed that heretics, at least heretics of a certain class, were to be coerced by the secular arm. The decree on this subject ran as follows: "Those who, under the pretence of special piety, repudiate the sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood, the baptism of infants, the priesthood, and the other sacred orders in the Church, and the *bonds of legitimate matrimony*, are expelled as heretics from the Church of God, and must, along with their supporters, be coerced by the secular arm."[1]

In this appeal to the civil authorities to punish heretics, it must be noted that they were teachers of doctrines not merely opposed to the tenets of the Catholic Church, but to public morality. A hundred years before the holding of this council of Toulouse, we find the punishment recorded of certain heretics in this very district, who went by the name of Manicheans, and who, we are assured, endeavoured to propagate their views in secret.[2] The heretics who were condemned by the third canon of the council of Toulouse in 1119 were no doubt descendants of the so-called

[1] "Hos, qui, religionis speciem simulantes, dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentum, baptisma puerorum, sacerdocium et ceteros ecclesiasticos ordines et legitimarum dampnant federa nuptiarum, tamquam hereticos ab ecclesia Dei pellimus, et dampnamus et per potestates exteras coherceri præcipimus. Defensores quoque ipsorum," etc. *Conc. Tolosani decreta*, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 352; or Can. 3, ap. Labbe, *Conc.*, x. 857.

[2] "Apud Tolosani inventi sunt Manichei, et ipsi destructi," etc. Ademar of Chabannes, *Chron.*, iii. 59, an. 1022. The imperial legislation of the Christian emperors imposed even the death penalty on Manicheans as violators of public order. *Cf.* the law of 382, ap. *Cod. Theodos.*, xvi. v. 9, etc.

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Manicheans of the eleventh century, and as some of their dogmas were gravely dangerous to public decency,[1] the public authorities were very naturally called upon to check the propagation of them. What steps, if any, were taken by the civil power do not appear. But if any were taken, they were not very efficacious; and before Calixtus had been dead a hundred years, the great Innocent III. found it necessary to proclaim a crusade against heretics who, under a different name, lived in the same locality of Toulouse, and also promulgated teachings similar to those held by the heretics there of the eleventh and twelfth centuries—teachings opposed not only to the Catholic faith, but to the most fundamental principles of Christian morality.

The Pope and the council of the year 1119 called on the civil authority to do what the indignant voice of outraged Christendom called upon the United States Government to do against the Mormons of Salt Lake City, and what our own Government has had to do more than once in this generation against propagators of theories of "free love." Beliefs that pander to man's basest passions soon spread, but are rooted out with the greatest difficulty.

After some well-filled months of work,[2] Calixtus reached Rheims on October 18.

Negotiations with the emperor at Strasburg and at Tribur.

The principal object for which the council of Rheims had been summoned was the establishment of peace between the Church and the empire. The emperor was the more

[1] After the express declaration of this council, presided over by such an able man and practical ruler as Calixtus II., it is idle for anyone to pretend that the doctrines of the heretics of Toulouse confined themselves to the sphere of the intellect. Some of them, at least, had most detrimental consequences in the domain of public morality. *Cf. The Inquisition*, by E. Vacandard, p. 8 ff., New York, 1908.

[2] "Gloriose, humiliter, sed strenue ecclesie jura disponens . . . aptius ecclesiasticis providebat negotiis." Suger, *in vit. Ludov.*, c. 26. *Cf.* Robert, ch. v.; Montalembert, vii. 519 f.

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ready to treat with the Pope because he had found that his power in Germany, which he had thought so firm, was tottering. While he had been in Italy, the indefatigable legate Conon had been acting with his usual energy. His repeated excommunications of Henry had their effect, and the princes of the empire had resolved to hold a diet, and there force their emperor to come to terms with the Church, or else depose him.[1] On hearing of this determination, Henry was "seized with fury," and, leaving his wife and army in Italy, hurried back to Germany, where he endeavoured to carry all before him with a high hand. The "Truce of God" was disregarded, and the whole country again resounded with the din of battle. But Henry had miscalculated his strength, and he was forced to consent to the holding of a diet at Tribur, near Mainz, for the redress of grievances.[2] It met on June 24, 1119, and was very numerously attended.[3] Among others present at it were legates of Pope Calixtus. Utterly disregarding the emperor's creature, Bourdin, the whole German hierarchy submitted to Calixtus,[4] and approved of the holding of the synod at Rheims. Then, to promote peace within the empire, it was decided that the emperor and the princes should mutually restore what each party had annexed, and that the investiture question should be

[1] The emperor had heard in Italy "quod principum consensus generale vel curiale colloquium . . . apud Wirciburg instituere proposuisset, ubi ipse aut presens ad audientiam (or 'obedientiam,' according to another reading) exhiberi, aut absens regno deponi debuerit." Ekkehard, an. 1119.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] Our authorities are not agreed as to the time and place of the meeting of this diet. *Cf.* Richter, *Annalen*, p. 608.

[4] "Cui (Calixtus) universi nostrates episcopi obedientiam professi." Ekkehard, *l.c.* The act of submission of Rokker, archbishop of Magdeburg, is extant, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 515. It begins by anathematising all heresies "precipue Burdinianam et Henricianam," and promises obedience to the Pope and honour to his legates.

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referred to the consideration of the forthcoming council of Rheims.[1]

Conference at Strasburg.

Before the council assembled, two envoys of the Pope, Pontius, abbot of Cluny, and the celebrated William of Champeaux, now bishop of Chalons, and once the master of Abelard,[2] met the emperor at Strasburg about the beginning of October. Asked by Henry how he could come to terms with the Church without a loss of his power (*sine diminutione regni sui*), the bishop assured him that if he gave up investiture he would lose nothing. "I," he said, "have never received investiture from the king, and yet in the matter of taxes, military service, and the like, I serve him as your bishops do you. Give up investiture, restore the property of the Church and of those who have laboured for her, and we will strive to put an end to this quarrel."[3] To this the emperor replied that he would do what was required of him if the Pope would do him justice, and see that what he and his had lost during the struggle was restored to him. At a subsequent interview these mutual concessions were agreed to in writing,[4] and it was arranged that the Pope and the emperor

[1] Ekkehard, *l.c.*; and *Annal. Hildesh.*, 1119.

[2] On the "realist" teaching and the whole career of this famous man see the excellent work of Michaud, *Guillaume de Champeaux*, Paris, 1867; and on Abelard *cf.* Rémusat, *Abélard*, 2 vols., Paris, 1845; Tosti, *Storia di Abelardo*, Napoli, 1851; and Compayré, *Abelard and the Origin of Universities*, London, 1893.

[3] Hesso, *Relatio*, init.

[4] The text of the concordat on Henry's side ran as follows: "Ego Henricus, Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, augustus, pro amore Dei, et b. Petri et D. P. Calixti dimitto omnem investituram omnium ecclesiarum, et do veram pacem omnibus, qui, ex quo discordia ista cœpit, pro ecclesia in werra fuerunt vel sunt. Possessiones autem ecclesiarum et omnium qui pro ecclesia laboraverunt, quas habeo, reddo; quas autem non habeo, ut rehabeant fideliter adjuvabo. Quodsi quæstio inde emerserit, quæ ecclesiastica sunt, canonico, quæ autem sæcularia sunt, sæculari terminentur judicio." The Pope's undertakings were similarly stated. Hesso, *ib.*

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should meet at Mouzon on October 25 to ratify them formally.

The council, for which many had waited anxiously in the hope that it meant peace, was opened at length on October 20. The bishops who were to take part in it had gathered together from "Italy and Germany, France and Spain, Brittany and England,[1] the islands of the Ocean, and all the provinces of the West." Some of them had come in great state, as Adalbert, archbishop of Mainz, who had an escort of five hundred knights. There assembled, then, in the metropolitan Church of Our Lady, "for the love of our Saviour," and in obedience to the command of the Pope, fifteen archbishops, over two hundred bishops, and as many abbots, making in all four hundred and twenty-seven prelates.[2] The council of Rheims, 1119.

The Pope's throne was placed on a raised platform facing the doors of the church, while the chairs of the bishops were set opposite to it, and in front of the rood-loft (*ante crucifixum*). By the side of the Pope stood the deacon Chrysogonus in his dalmatic, with a volume of the canons in his hand, so that, as occasion required, he might cite therefrom the decrees of the Fathers. The different metropolitans were seated "in the order of precedence," says Ordericus, "to which they were entitled in virtue of ancient decrees of the Popes."

After a sermon from the Pope, in which he compared the Church in the world to the barque of the apostles on the Sea of Galilee, the assembled Fathers were reminded both

[1] In view of the "customs" usurped by our Norman kings, Henry told the English bishops not to state any sort of grievance before the council, and not to bring back "any superfluous novelties"! Ordericus, *l.c.*

[2] *Cf.* Ordericus, xii. 21, and Hesso, p. 28, *sub fin.*, ed. *Mon. Germ. Libell.* These two writers are the only ones who treat at any length of this council.

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in Latin and in their mother tongue (*materna lingua*) of the ravages simony was effecting in the Church through the custom of investiture.

After the investiture question had been clearly laid before the assembly, the French king Louis, pale, tall, and stout, in eloquent language denounced the conduct of our king, Henry I., for his treatment of Robert of Normandy and his son, and that of Theobald of Blois for disturbing his kingdom. Hildegarde, countess of Poitiers, came to plead for justice against an adulterous husband, and others appeared to appeal against deeds of violence.

At this point the Pope intervened. He delivered a most touching exhortation to peace, which he called "the nurse of the good" (*bonorum nutricem*), and declared that he would do all he could to propagate it throughout the Church, and that he enjoined "the observance of the Truce of God, as Pope Urban of blessed memory decreed it at the council of Clermont." He then suspended the work of the synod for the time being, explaining that the emperor had invited him to meet him at Mouzon to make peace, and forbidding any of the Fathers to leave Rheims till he returned to finish with them the work of the council. After that, he said, he would visit Henry of England, his spiritual son and relative, and endeavour to induce him to refrain from hostile enterprises.[1]

Henry repudiates the Strasburg convention.

On the second day after the opening of the council (October 22), Calixtus left the city to traverse the rough seventy-five miles of road which led through the Ardennes to Mouzon on the Meuse, near Sedan.[2] When they arrived at that small town they were not a little alarmed to find

[1] Ordericus, *l.c.* In Migne's ed. (*P. L.*, t. 188) the reference is l. xii. c. 9 f.; see also Hesso.

[2] The Pope and his escort travelled "cum maximo labore" (Hesso). *Cf. Ann. Mosomagenses*, an. 1120, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii., and *Chron. S. Andreæ*, iii. 31, ap. *M. G. SS.*, vii.

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the emperor in the neighbourhood with a large army, which some of the cardinals, perhaps because terrified, estimated at thirty thousand.[1] Anything but reassured by this display of force, the Pope's suite insisted on his remaining in a castle, whilst his envoys went to interview the emperor.

At first Henry pretended that he had never promised to give up investiture;[2] then he pressed for one delay after another, while his followers by an aggressive exhibition of naked swords and spears endeavoured to frighten the papal legates. Especially did they insist that it was preposterous that the emperor should make his submission to the Pope barefoot in the usual way. Though the envoys at once promised that they would try to bring it about that his absolution should take place privately and with shod feet,[3] they saw that there was no real intention on Henry's part of coming to terms. Accordingly, when it transpired that he had requested that the Pope should be detained in the castle in which he had taken refuge, no time was lost in putting a safe distance between the emperor and his intended prey.[4] The Pope and his suite returned to Rheims far quicker than they had left it[5] (October 26). For a day or two after his return Calixtus was so much upset by the fatigues and fears from which he had suffered during the brief period of his absence from Rheims, that he

[1] Ordericus, *l.c.*

[2] "Rex . . . prima fronte se nichil horum promisisse omnimodis abnegabat." Hesso, p. 25.

[3] "Responderunt, quod omnibus modis laborarent ut D. papa calciatum eum, quanto privatius posset, reciperet." Hesso, p. 26.

[4] Ordericus makes Cardinal John of Crema tell the council distinctly that all that the emperor wanted was to make Calixtus a prisoner, as he had made Paschal.

[5] "Die igitur dominica de eodem loco ante diem exivit, et cum tanta festinatione Remis usque cucurrit, ut, viginti leuvis consummatis, eadem die missam Remis celebraret." Hesso, *l.c.*

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could not recommence the business of the synod. However, its work was resumed on October 29, and various decrees were passed against simony, the marriage of the clergy,[1] and investiture.[2]

At the same time, with great grief (*mœrens*) Calixtus pronounced sentence of excommunication against the emperor, the enemy of God (*Theomachum*), and against the antipope Bourdin and their supporters.[3] And "by his apostolic authority he absolved from their allegiance all those who had sworn fidelity to the emperor till such times as he should repent, and make satisfaction to the Church of God."[4]

Premonstratensian Order confirmed, 1119.

Among the many people who came to Rheims to see the Pope was St. Norbert, the founder of the Premonstratensian Order. But the number of those who were anxious to interview Calixtus was so great, that, after staying in the city for three days, Norbert wandered away from it in despair. Fortunately, he was met and accosted by Bishop Bartholomew of Laon. Finding that he wished to embrace a special form of religious life, for which he was desirous of securing the papal approval,[5] the bishop bade him return

[1] Hence some wag wrote a number of leonine verses which began thus:—

"O bone Calliste, nunc clerus odit te;
Olim presbyteri poterant uxoribus uti,
Hoc sustulisti, quando tu Papa fuisti."

They are cited by M. Le Prévost in his edition of Ordericus.

[2] "Episcopatuum et abbatiarum investituram per manum laicam fieri penitus prohibemus." Hesso, p. 27. *Cf.* Clarius, *Chron. S. Petri Vivi Senon.*, an. 1119, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi.

[3] Ordericus, *l.c.*

[4] Hesso, p. 28, who concludes his recital with these words: "Quod vidi et audivi, fideliter . . . pedestri sermone descripsi." *Cf. Ann. Cameracenses*, an. 1119, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi.

[5] "Hujus religionis norma sedis apostolicæ concilio et auctoritate incipienda." Heriman, *De miraculis S. Mariæ Laudensis*, iii. 2, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii. 655. Of Heriman himself we know that he collected money in France and England to enable Bishop Bartholomew to

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with him, and promised to secure him an audience with the Pope. The bishop fulfilled his promise, "modestly suggesting to the Pope that it was not the proper thing that he, the Father of the Church universal, should speak only with the rich, and that the poor should be kept from him." After much speech with the Pope, first at Rheims and then at Laon, Norbert secured from him the approval of the order he proposed to found.[1]

Interview with Henry of England, 1119.

Knowing that the weighty and solemn condemnation of the council of Rheims could not be ignored, and that, when the returning bishops had spread word of it throughout every civilised country of Europe, it could not fail to produce its desired effect, Calixtus meanwhile turned his attention to other matters. Of his interview at Gisors with Henry of England (November 1119), which resulted at least in peace between England and France, we shall speak in another place.[2] After spending a few more months in the latter country, among other things confirming St. Norbert's right to preach everywhere,[3] and, at the request of Abbot Stephen Harding, the Cistercian rule, he at length set out for Italy (March 1120).[4]

rebuild the cathedral of Laon, burnt down in 1112. It is gratifying to Englishmen to think that they have had a share in building the picturesque cathedral of Laon, with its world-famous towers.

[1] *Vita Norberti*, c. 9, ap. *ib.* *Cf. Chron. de Mailros*, 1119. "D. Norbertus auctoritate P. Calixti ordinem Præmonstratensem instituit." But the first formal approval of the Premonstratensian Order as actually existing was given in June 1124 in the name of Calixtus by his legates, the cardinal priest Pierleone, and Gregory, the cardinal deacon of St. Angelo. *Cf.* their deed of approval, ap. *Acta SS.*, June 1, Appendix, p. 31*.

[2] *Cf. infra*, p. 188 f.

[3] Jaffé, 6761. *Cf.* Robert, p. 82.

[4] Ep. 116.

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CHAPTER III.

CALIXTUS II. IN ITALY. DOWNFALL OF THE ANTIPOPE.

Calixtus enters Italy, 1120.

IT was about March 25 when Calixtus, in company with those members of the Roman Church who had been with him in France, and escorted by the guard who had left Rome with Gelasius,[1] appeared in Piedmont. His safety was carefully watched over by the archbishop of Milan,[2] and everywhere, especially at Lucca and Pisa, was he received with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. Everywhere was he greeted "as the vicar of Christ."[3] The news of his triumphal progress soon reached Rome, and put fresh life into the adherents of the Papacy. The basilica of St. Peter and its approaches were still in the hands of the partisans of the antipope Bourdin, who was now residing at Sutri. Pierleone made another effort to get possession of it, and before Calixtus appeared in sight of Rome, money had induced the followers of the antipope to give up their chief stronghold in the Eternal City.[4]

[1] The chronicle of Cluny (ap. *Bibl. Cluniacensis*, p. 1627, cited by Robert, p. 100) speaks of the Pope's Roman guard attending on him when he visited that famous abbey: "Huic Romana præsens militia more suo famulabatur."

[2] Landulf jun., *Hist. Mediol.*, c. 35. Under the circumstances it is not to be wondered at that when our historian ventured to prefer a complaint against the archbishop, he was quietly reminded "that the month of January was not the one for crushing the grapes in the winepress."

[3] Boso. "Eum tamquam Christi vicarium omnes nimio venerabantur effectu."

[4] *Annales Romani*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 347. From epp. 201 and 217 it would appear that the capture of St. Peter's was subsequent to the coming of Calixtus to Rome.

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His reception at Rome. June 3.

When Calixtus reached Rosella he was joined by Egino, abbot of S. Udalricus of Augsburg, and his inseparable companion, the monk Udalscalcus.[1] He received them with the utmost cheerfulness, and bade them come with him and witness "the triumph of the Church."[2] At a distance of three days' journey from Rome he was met by the militia of the city, with their banners and crosses; and as he drew nearer to it, the whole population, men, women, and children, seemed to come out to greet him. The children, who were carrying branches of trees, were especially blessed by the Pontiff. As he passed along, "even the confused plaudits of the Jews" were heard amidst the chants of the Latins and the Greeks. Solemnly received by Peter, cardinal-bishop of Porto, the vicar of Rome, and the other dignitaries of the Church and State, he was formally crowned in St. Peter's,[3] and through the Sacred Way, as the route was called, all gay with triumphal arches, gilding, and precious draperies, he slowly made his way to the Lateran Palace. No such glorious sight had been seen in Rome within the memory of any living man. At the Lateran the Pope received the homage of Pierleone, of the prefect of Rome, of Leo Frangipane, of Stephen the Norman, and Peter Colonna.[4]

The Pope in south Italy, 1120.

Calixtus did not remain long in Rome. Anxious to strengthen his authority among the Normans in south Italy, he made his way through the Campagna to Monte Cassino. After resting there for a few weeks, he went to

[1] It is from this monk, in his *De Eginone et Herimanno* (ap. *P. L.*, t. 170, *M. G. SS.*, xii., or Watterich, ii. 138) that we have the fullest details of the Pope's reception in Rome.

[2] "Roma una secum deducimur, relaturi terræ nostræ, ut ipsius verbis utamur, 'triumphum ecclesiæ.'" Udalscalcus, ap. Watterich, p. 138.

[3] "Et Frigii quidem corona capiti nostro imposita," writes the Pope himself, ep. 176.

[4] Ep. 176. *Cf.* epp. 201, 217; Pandulf, Boso, and Falco, an. 1120.

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Benevento. His coming there had been long looked for, says Falco, and the whole people, clergy and laity, went two miles out of the city to meet him. The wealthy merchants of Amalfi had ornamented the city with hangings of silk and expensive decorations of all sorts, and perfumed the whole air by burning cinnamon and various aromatic herbs in censers of gold and silver.[1] Sweet with the odour of precious spices, the air was also pleasant with the sound of tympana, tinkling cymbals and lyres. Four distinguished citizens held the stirrups and reins of the Pope's horse from the Leper's Bridge to the Gate of St. Lawrence; then four others held them from there to the residence of the bishop, when their places in turn were taken by four of the judges, who led the Pope to the palace (August 8). "Reader!" exclaims the local historian, full of legitimate pride, "had you been present in the Pope's company and heard and seen those lovely sounds and sights, you would have said that never before had a Pontiff been so joyously and triumphantly greeted by any other city."[2]

The Norman chiefs do homage.

Before Calixtus left Benevento, he received the feudal submission of a very great number of the inferior nobility, and of Jordan II. of Capua and of the poor-spirited Duke William I. of Apulia. By a banner which he placed in the hands of the latter, he confirmed him in all the possessions which his predecessors from the days of Pope Nicholas II. had granted either to his grandfather, Robert Guiscard, or to his father, Duke Roger.[3] In his anxiety to promote the sacred cause of peace, Calixtus went from one city to another. At Troia he was met by the nobility, headed by

[1] "Infra ornamenta vero, thuribula aurea, et argentea cum odoribus et cinnamomo posuerunt." Falco, an. 1120.

[2] Falco, *l.c.*

[3] Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, an. 1118, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. 182. *Cf. Chron. Cas.*, iv. 68, and Pandulf.

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Duke William, who, performing the office of esquire, led the Pope's horse to the cathedral.[1] In this city and at Bari he devoted himself to the establishment of the Truce of God.[2]

Back in Rome, Dec. 1120.

Returning to Rome for the December ordinations, he began forthwith to make preparations for securing the submission of the antipope, who by his constant raids was rendering the roads to Rome quite unsafe.[3]

Capture of the antipope, April 1121.

With a large force of horse and foot he appeared before Sutri about the middle of April. Though Bourdin had written piteous letters for help to his patron, the Emperor Henry, he had received nothing from him but florid letters.[4] The papal troops pushed the siege, and after enduring a blockade of eight days, the inhabitants surrendered Maurice Bourdin, called Gregory VIII., into their hands.[5]

No sooner was he in their power than, clothing him in bleeding sheep-skins instead of the red mantle worn by the Popes, and putting him on the camel which had carried the cooking utensils of the papal camp-kitchen, with his face towards its tail, which was given him as reins, they drove him with insults and mockeries towards Rome.

[1] Romuald, *l.c.*

[2] "Calixtus cum episcopis, etc. . . . apud Troiam precipue causa componendæ tregue Dei conveniret." *Archives capitulaires de Troia*, A, No. 47, cited by Chalandon, *Hist. de la domin. Normande*, i. 321. *Cf.* ep. 217 : "Inde (from Benevento) in Apuliam et usque Barum pro æcclesie servicio descendentes, pacem et treugam Dei per totam terram illam statuimus." *Cf.* ep. 201.

[3] "Per illud Teutonicorum regis idolum, Burdinum videlicet, fideles Ecclesiæ conturbati sunt et alii quidem capti sunt, alii usque ad mortem carceris maceratione afflicti sunt." Ep. 228. Bourdin was trying, as Malmesbury expresses it (*De gest. reg.*, l. v.), "to nurture his power by many a pilgrim's loss." *Cf.* Pandulf, p. 323.

[4] Jaffé, 7180 (5195). He received "litteras onustas quidem floribus sed utilitatis omnino nihil habentes."

[5] *Annales Romani*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 347 ; Heimonis *liber*, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 548 ; Suger, *in vit. Ludovic. VI.*, c. 26 ; ep. 228.

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"Accursed one," they cried, "what scandal have you caused! Woe to you for attempting to rend the seamless robe of Christ, and to divide the unity of Catholic faith."[1] When this disorderly cavalcade reached Rome, the tormentors of the unfortunate antipope, treating him with a view of preventing others from imitating him,[2] set him on a worthless nag, and hurried him with fresh insults through the Trastevere. How this cruel horse-play, to which the Romans were much addicted, might have ended if the wretched man had remained in the hands of the mob, it is perhaps not very difficult to conjecture. But at last he was "with difficulty rescued from their hands"[3] by Calixtus, and placed in safety, though in chains, in the Septizonium.[4] It is much to be regretted that the Pope did not take the antipope into his own custody the moment he surrendered. After all, he was a most distinguished man: one, says our own historian, William of Malmesbury, "whom anyone might have highly reverenced, nay, even almost have venerated, for his active and unwearied industry, had he not been led to make himself conspicuous by so disgraceful an act"[5] as setting himself up against the true Pope. But it is quite possible that Calixtus rescued him from the hands of the crowd as soon as he could.

He was not left long in the Septizonium. Taken thence, he was confined first in one place and then another, and appears to have died in the monastery of La Cava, near

[1] *Ann. Rom.*, *l.c.*; Boso, p. 377.

[2] "Revertens ad Urbem cum tanto dedecore, quatenus et ipse in sua confundatur erubescentia, et aliis exemplum preberet ne similia ulterius attemptare presumant." Boso, *l.c.*

[3] Ekkehard, an. 1121. "Et post plures *a vulgo* sibi contumelias . . . illatas, *vix* a manibus eorum *D. apostolico* eripiente," etc. *Cf.* Suger, *l.c.* Note that Ekkehard writes not merely from hearsay, but also from the evidence of envoys from Rome, "nunciis a Roma venientibus approbatur."

[4] *Ann. Rom.*, p. 348.

[5] *De gest. reg.*, l. v.

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Salerno, after the month of August 1137.[1] In memory of the capture of Bourdin a picture of the Pope was placed in one of the halls of the Lateran Palace, and beneath it this inscription:—

"Ecce Calixtus, honor patria, decus imperiale,
Nequam Burdinum damnat pacemque reformat."[2]

Calixtus promotes peace, especially in south Italy, 1121-1122.

Not long after the fall of the antipope, Calixtus left Rome for some seven months to restore order in its neighbourhood,[3] and to work for peace in south Italy, both in the civil and in the ecclesiastical order. The chief cause of trouble at this time in south Italy was, on the one hand, the weakness of William, duke of Apulia, and on the other the ambition or greed of his first cousin, Roger II., count of Sicily, afterwards (1130) king of Italy[4] (*i.e.*, Sicily). He invaded Calabria, taking advantage, according to Pandulf, of a journey of William to Constantinople.[5] When the duke left Italy, he entrusted his territory to the care of the

[1] *Ann. Rom.*, *l.c.*; Ordericus, *H. E.*, xii. 27; Falco, an. 1121; Pandulf, p. 323; *Annal. Casinenses*, an. 1121, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.; and Rosenveld., an. 1121, ap. *ib.*, xvi. "Apud *Caveam incaveatus* est." *Hist. Mauriniac.*, l. ii., ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. 38. The very curious *Annales Palidenses*, an. 1118, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi., which give a quaint account of all these transactions, say that Bourdin received his name "propter ingentes asinos (there is a Spanish word, *burro*, which means an ass) in Hispania habandantes." The *Vita Norberti*, c. 5, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii., says that Burdinus is a diminutive of *burdone*, which means an ass or a mule. Guillaume (*Essai sur l'abbaye de Cava*, p. 88) thinks that Bourdin died at Castel-Fumone, near Alatri, and not at La Cava. Jaffé, i. p. 822.

[2] "Behold Calixtus! glory of his land,
The wicked Bourdin damns, and peace remakes."
Robert, p. 122.

[3] *Cf.* the annals of Ceccano, an. 1121, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix.

[4] It is Pandulf who calls him "nunc autem *Italiæ* rex."

[5] Chalandon (*Hist. de la dominat. Normande*, i. 322) calls in question the accuracy of this statement, chiefly on the ground of the obvious falseness of the assigned cause of the journey. But a statement of fact may well be true, even if the reason given for its motive be proved false. The fact of the journey, then, may perhaps be assumed.

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Pope,[1] but no doubt lost no time in returning home as soon as he heard of his cousin's aggressive action. Calixtus did all he could, both by legates and by personal interviews, to bring about peace between the two cousins.[2] Everything, however, went against the Pope. He lost at this moment by death many of his most eminent and trusted cardinals, and he himself fell dangerously ill. With Calixtus in this stricken condition, Count Roger was able to work his will. He was in Calabria, and in Calabria he contrived to remain.[3]

Tres Tabernæ or Taverna.

To illustrate the work for peace in the ecclesiastical order performed by Calixtus in south Italy, we will select the one instance of his relations with the Church of Tres Tabernæ. We do so because it serves also as a reminder of how largely under Greek influence was still the southern portion of the peninsula, and as an indication of the manner in which that influence was gradually being undermined.

Among the very many towns in the extreme south of Italy destroyed by the Saracens in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries was the populous but unwalled city of Trischines (τρεῖς σκηναί), or Tres Tabernæ,[4] situated on the sea by the river Alli in the *toe* of Italy. Such, however, of the inhabitants as escaped built for themselves another town in a strong place on the higher part of the same river, the present Taverna, some ten miles north of Catanzaro.[5] The episcopal succession, which had been transferred to the new city during the Byzantine domination in those parts, was again broken owing to quarrels among the local

[1] Pandulf, p. 322. "Terram quæ ei competit D. pape in eundo commiserat."

[2] Falco, an. 1121. "Callistus . . . Salernum ivit ut pacis firmamentum cum duce Guillelmo et Rogerio comite confirmaret." *Cf. Chron. Trium. Tabern.*, c. 19, ed. Caspar.

[3] Pandulf, *l.c.* *Cf.* Romuald of Salerno, an. 1122.

[4] *Chron. T. T.*, c. 4. [5] *Ib.*, c. 7.

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Norman nobles after the city had in due course come into the hands of Robert Guiscard.[1] At length, however, the virtuous Geoffrey, count of Catanzaro, calling his feudatories around him, pointed out to them that it was not becoming that they should have a bishopric in their midst but no bishop. "Let us then send to Pope Gelasius and beg him to let us have a Latin bishop for our See of Tres Tabernæ. Since we are all Latins, we do not want a Greek." The envoys who were accordingly sent to the Pope found that he had betaken himself to France. When they reached that country they had to present their petition to Pope Calixtus, as Gelasius was no more.

Learning from the report of Cardinal Desiderius that the resources of the bishopric were quite equal to the proper support of a bishop, Calixtus accepted as the new incumbent the choice of the clergy and people, viz. John, the *capellanus* of Catanzaro, himself consecrated him, and by a bull of January 14, 1121, reconstituted the bishopric in his favour.[2] But the lords spiritual and temporal of the neighbourhood who had profited by the recent lapse of the episcopal succession of Taverna to annex the property or rights of its diocese were not all of them disposed to give up what they had taken. Calixtus, therefore, had to issue a number of letters to Peter, bishop of Squillace, and to Hugh the Red, the lord of Rocca Falluca,[3] commanding them to give to John, bishop of Catanzaro,[4] the obedience

[1] *Chron. T. T.*, cc. 15 and 16. [2] Ep. 215; *Chron. T. T.*, c. 18.

[3] Ep. 264, to Peter, December 21, 1121; ep. 265, of same date, to Hugo Rubeus. *Cf.* ep. 270, January 6, 1122.

[4] The episcopal See of Taverna appears to have been translated to Catanzaro almost immediately after its reconstitution. Catanzaro had been built in the middle of the eleventh century as a bulwark against the Saracens, and had become the chief town of the locality: "Ibi enim universi Calabri et Lucani judicabantur." *Chron. T. T.*, c. 10. That there certainly was a bishopric of Tres Tabernæ in Calabria towards the beginning of the twelfth century is clear from a list of

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or the property which was his due. In order to establish clearly the limits of the diocese of Taverna or Catanzaro, inasmuch as they were everywhere disputed, Calixtus ordered the bishops and abbots of Calabria to meet him at Cotrone (January 1122). On the testimony especially of a Greek priest who knew Latin, and whose father had been the chief official of one of the bishops of Tres Tabernæ, it was definitely decreed that the diocese of Catanzaro should extend from the river Lorda or Bordo (?) to the Crocchio.[1] With the citation of a second admonitory letter of the Pope to Hugh the Red, the interesting chronicle of Tres Tabernæ comes to an abrupt close. Short though it is, it serves to show by what steps Greek influence in south Italy was gradually replaced by that of the Popes and of the Normans.[2]

bishoprics depending directly on the Holy See, which dates from the first half of the twelfth century. Duchesne, *ubi infra*, p. 13.

[1] *Chron. T. T.*, cc. 21–23. On the presence of Calixtus in Calabria, see Romuald of Salerno, an. 1122.

[2] Against Lenormant, *La Grande-Grèce*, ii. 246 ff., who argues in favour of the falsity of the chronicle of Tres Tabernæ, see Chalandon, *Hist. de la domin. Normande*, i. 322 f.; Duchesne, *Les évêchés de Calabre*, p. 14; and especially Gaspar.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS AND THE FIRST GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN (1122–1123).

The diet of Würzburg, 1121.

MEANWHILE in Germany the march of events was gradually wearing down the obstinacy of Henry. His solemn excommunication at Rheims caused him to be abandoned by first one bishop and then another. An attempt which he made to crush by force one of his principal opponents, Adalbert, archbishop of Mainz, resulted in his being faced by half the empire in arms (June 1121), and he had to agree to refer the matters in dispute to a diet to be held at Würzburg (September 1121).[1] The downfall of his antipope Bourdin still further weakened his position.

When the diet assembled in the presence of legates of the Pope,[2] it was agreed in the first instance to enforce the observation of peace throughout the whole empire, and a general restitution of the property which had been seized by both sides during the wars caused by the quarrel between the Papacy and the Empire. Justice was to be administered to all classes of the community, and thieves and robbers were to be put down.[3] The all-important question, however, of the relations between the Pope and the emperor was put off for the consideration of a general council which was to be summoned by the Pope in order that "what could not be decided by human wisdom might

[1] Ekkehard, an 1121. Adalbert had been made apostolic legate: "Legationem apostolicam ab ipso papa dudum acceperat."

[2] Anselm, *Chron.*, 1121.

[3] *Ib.* *Cf. M. G. Legg.*, ii. 74; or *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 517.

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be settled by the decision of the Holy Ghost."[1] Meanwhile it was laid down as a general principle that the emperor was to obey the Apostolic See.[2] But at the same time all felt that it was far from easy to adjust the claims of the Pope with the just rights of the emperor.[3]

The hope, however, of the situation was a deep and general feeling that it was not beyond the power of earnest and wise men to settle the investiture question in such a manner as not to compromise the real rights either of the Pope or of the emperor.

To this feeling expression was given in a poetical dialogue between the Pope and the emperor, published by Hugo Metellus of Toul († *c.* 1150) shortly before the assembling of the diet of Worms. After indulging in mutual recriminations,[4] and arguing as to the signification of investiture by crosier and ring, and as to the intent of the donation of Constantine, the two disputants concluded to put an end to vain contentions, and to follow the decisions of the wise.[5]

Letter of the Pope to Henry, Feb. 1122.

With a view to keeping Henry true to the provisions of

[1] Ekkehard, *ib.* *Cf.* *Ann. Hildesh.*, 1121. "Judicio et consilio D. apostolici causam imperatoris determinandam reservantes."

[2] This is the first article of the convention between the princes and the emperor: "D. Imperator apostolice sedi obediat." *Mon. Bamb.*, p. 517.

[3] "Hoc etiam, quod eclesia adversus imperatorem et regnum de investituris causatur, principes sine dolo et sine simulatione elaborare intendunt, ut in hoc regnum honorem suum retineat." *Ib.*

[4] *Papa:* Rex es, si rectum sequeris, si regia queris,
Nec te falsa juvant, quæ sunt contraria veris.
Rex: Papa fores, si tu papares more priorum,
Predecessorum sectando facta tuorum.
. . . . . .
Rex: Ad causam nostram deducantur sapientes
A causa nostra tollantur et inspientes.
Papa: Quod ratione probas, per nos non est reprobandum.
Quod ratione probas, laudamus et est imitandum.

[5] Hugo, *Opusc.*, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, iii. 714 ff.

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Würzburg, Calixtus addressed him a letter which he sent by Azzo, bishop of Acqui, a mutual relative. He selected Azzo in order to remind the emperor that they were debtors one to another in a more strict sense than their predecessors had been. "Besides the bond of apostolical paternity which links us together, and besides the bond between us of the imperial dignity, which the German kings receive solely through the Roman Pontiffs,[1] we are bound to hear and to love one another by our close blood relationship." He exhorted him to restore peace to the Church, "which desires not any of your rights for herself, but, like a mother, gives freely of her own to all. . . . You have soldiers on your side, but the Church has to defend her the King of kings, . . . and her lords and patrons are the Apostles Peter and Paul. Give up, then, what does not belong to your province, that you may the better administer what does."[2]

The diet of Worms, Sept. 1122.

The bishop of Spires and the abbot of Fulda had been dispatched to Rome to inform the Pope of the decisions of the diet of Würzburg.[3] With them, on their return to Germany, Calixtus sent on his behalf Lambert, bishop of Ostia, and Cardinals Gregory and Saxo.[4] As Henry had already begun to violate the agreement of Würzburg,[5] it required all the exhortations of the Pope, and all the exertions of his legates,[6] and of the indefatigable Adalbert

[1] "Preter illam imperii dignitatem, quam per solius Romani pontificis ministerium reges Alamannici consecuntur," etc. Ep. 278.

[2] "Dimitte quod tuæ administrationis non est, ut digne valeas ministrare quod tuum est." *Ib.*

[3] *Cf.* ep. of the legate Lambert to the emperor, ap. *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 383.

[4] Ekkehard, 1122. *Cf.* Anselm, *Chron.*, 1122, and Pandulf. They returned at the beginning of 1122. Anselm's chronicle is a continuation of that of Sigebert of Gemblours.

[5] *Cf.* Robert, pp. 129–130; Montalembert, *Monks*, vii. 569.

[6] Ekkehard (*l.c.*) says that our Lord Jesus Christ "per industriam servorum suorum, sedis apostolicæ legatorum, qui tunc Moguntiæ morabantur, . . . spiritum principum paci contrarium auferre," etc.

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of Mainz, to keep the peace, and to bring about an assembly of the great ones of the empire at Worms. Lambert reminded the emperor of his declaration by the envoys he had recently sent to Rome that he wanted peace if it could be brought about consistently with the maintenance of his position and rights, and he assured him it was the wish of the Pope that, maintaining due regard for justice, the honour of the empire should in every way be augmented. He therefore begged him to come "to the council of bishops" which was to be held at Mainz.[1]

In deference to the wishes of the emperor, who not unnaturally preferred that the diet should be held in a city loyal to himself, the place of its meeting was changed from Mainz to Worms. Accordingly, in the month of September, there assembled in the latter city the great leaders both of the Church and the imperial parties, along with the emperor himself, and the papal legates; while on the banks of the Rhine outside the city an enormous crowd of people took up their station.[2] For more than a week the important question of investiture, which had so long agitated the whole empire, was debated with the greatest vehemence and prudence. At first the lay adherents of the emperor were not disposed to yield anything. They alleged the length of time the emperors had practised investiture by ring and crosier, and did not hesitate to call their opponents destroyers of the empire.[3] However, as time and the debate went on, the more moderate views of those

[1] Ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 383. *Cf.* his letters to the bishop of Bamberg, and "to the bishops of the *Gauls*—Galliarum," *ib.*, p. 384 f. He tells the latter that the object of the assembly was "ut . . . membra imperii a se invicem divisa in corporis unitatem congregemus."

[2] Anselm, *Chron.*, 1122; and Ekkehard, 1122.

[3] Ep. of Adalbert to the Pope soon after the close of the council, ap. *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 518 f.

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who were really anxious for peace prevailed. God, "in whose hands are the hearts of kings, bent the obstinacy of the emperor beneath the obedience of the Apostolic See," and Henry "gave up for the love of Christ what he had sworn never to part with as long as his life should endure." [1]

Text of the *Concordat* of Worms, Sept. 23, 1122.

After the emperor and his party had been solemnly absolved from the censures of the Church, the terms of the agreement which had been arrived at were read out before the assembled multitude. "I, Calixtus," began the famous document, "servant of the servants of God, do grant to thee, beloved son Henry, by the grace of God august emperor of the Romans, that the elections of the bishops and abbots of the German kingdom, who belong to the kingdom,[2] shall take place in thy presence, without simony and without any violence; so that if any discord shall arise between the parties concerned, thou, by the counsel or judgment of the metropolitan and the co-provincials, mayest give consent and aid to the party which has the more right (*saniori parti*). The one elected, moreover, without any exaction, may receive the regalia from thee through the sceptre (*sceptrum*), and shall do unto thee for these what he rightfully should. But he who is consecrated in the other parts of thy empire shall within six months, and without any exaction, receive the regalia from thee through the sceptre, and shall do unto thee for these what he rightfully should, excepting all things which are known to belong to the Roman Church. Concerning matters, however, in which thou dost make complaint to

[1] Ekkehard, 1122. "Ipse in cujus manu cor regis est, omnem animositatem Augusti sub apostolicæ reverentiæ obedientiam . . . etiam ultra spem plurimorum inflexit."

[2] *I.e.*, to Germany proper, and not to such countries as Italy, Burgundy, and the kingdom of Arles, which were dependent on the empire, but did form part of the kingdom of Germany.

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me, and dost demand aid—I, according to the duty of my office, will furnish aid to thee. I give unto thee true peace, and to all who are or have been on thy side in the time of this discord."

Then followed the second part of the concordat: "In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, I, Henry, by the grace of God august emperor of the Romans, for the love of God, and of the Holy Roman Church, and of our Lord (*dominus*) Pope Calixtus, and for the healing of my soul, do remit to God, and to the holy apostles of God, Peter and Paul, and to the Holy Catholic Church, all investiture through ring and staff, and do grant that in all the churches that are in my kingdom or empire there may be canonical election and free consecration. All the possessions and regalia of St. Peter, which, from the beginning of this discord unto this day, whether in the time of my father or else in mine, have been abstracted and which I hold, I restore to that same Holy Roman Church. As to those things, moreover, which I do not hold, I will faithfully aid in their restoration. As to the possessions also of all other churches and princes, and of all other lay and clerical persons which have been lost in that war, according to the counsel of the princes, or according to justice, I will restore the things that I hold, and of those things which I do not hold I will faithfully aid in their restoration. And I grant true peace to our Lord (*dominus*) Pope Calixtus, and to the Holy Roman Church, and to all those who are or have been on its side. And in matters where the Holy Roman Church shall demand aid I will grant it, and in matters concerning which it shall make complaint to me I will duly grant it justice. All these things have been done with the consent and counsel of the princes." Then follow the names of the principal clerical and lay chiefs of the empire, and the

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official signature of Frederick, archbishop of Cologne, and archchancellor.[1]

After the reading of this momentous document, Mass was said by Lambert of Ostia, at which the reconciliation of the emperor to the Church was sealed "by his receiving the kiss of peace and the Holy Communion; and all departed with infinite joy."[2] Thus, says our own chronicler, William of Malmesbury, "that inveterate controversy between the empire and the priesthood concerning investiture, which for more than fifty years had created commotions to such a degree that, when any favourer of this heresy was cut off by disease or death, immediately, like the hydra's heads, many sprouted up afresh, this man by his diligence cut off, brought low, rooted out, or plucked up, beating down the crest of German fierceness by the vigorous stroke of the papal hatchet."[3]

The gains and losses of the investiture war.

The fifty years' war between the Church and the State regarding investitures was at length at an end. A fair compromise had been found which gave to each party its due. On the one hand, the emperor, by yielding the right to invest with the ring and crosier, gave up all pretence of having any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the clergy, by doing homage for the temporalities of their sees, professed that there was a temporal side to their office which required

[1] The original may be read in Ekkehard (*l.c.*), etc., and very carefully edited by M. Doeberl, *Monumenta Germaniæ selecta*, iii. p. 59 f., Munich, 1889. I have used the translation of Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, p. 408 f., though I have inserted the few Latin words for the sake of clearness.

[2] Ekkehard, *l.c.* The document itself, *i.e.*, that which contained the concessions of the emperor, with the imperial golden bulla attached to it, was copied by Boso, who found it in the archives of the Roman Church. It is still to be seen in the archives of the Vatican. *L. P.*, ii. 378.

[3] *De gest. reg.*, l. ii., an. 1119. *Cf. Annales Rosenveldenses* and *A. Pegavenses*, ap. *M. G., SS.*, xvi.; *A. Disibod.*, ap. *ib.*, xvii.; *A. Hildesh.*, etc., all ad. an. 1122.

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acknowledgment. But it must be noted that what had been gained by the Church was not of such far-reaching importance as might at first appear. The emperor, it is true, conceded freedom of election and of consecration, but he retained the right to be present at elections, and he was granted a voice in disputed elections. Further, the German bishops, at least, had to receive investiture of their temporalities by the sceptre *before* their consecration. With these rights guaranteed to him, it is clear that the emperor could easily cause the elections to be free in nothing except the name. Still, as he had had to give way in what appeared to be the principal matter in dispute, viz., the ring and crosier, it was generally believed that a striking victory had been gained by the Church, and its influence was thereby greatly increased. Time, however, was to show that the position of the State had not been completely carried by the Concordat of Worms.

Calixtus congratulates Henry on his return to the Church.

As soon as Calixtus received official information of the concordat which the genius of his legate, Lambert of Ostia, had been chiefly instrumental in bringing out, he caused "the agreement to be everywhere published throughout the nations and peoples,"[1] and wrote to congratulate Henry on his having at length submitted to the Church. He assured him that his conduct and his relationship to him would make him cherish both the empire and himself with an ever increasing affection. By their union they must confer as much benefit "on the faithful of Europe" as their previous discord had brought injury.[2]

[1] Simeon of Durham, *Hist. Reg.*, an. 1122.

[2] Ep. 322, December 13, 1122. The imperial envoys brought presents as well as news for Calixtus. Ekkehard, *l.c.* They were also seemingly the bearers of a letter from the emperor in which, besides projecting an idea of going to Rome to settle certain details with the

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The first general council of the Lateran, 1123.

In the letter just quoted Calixtus speaks of the near approach of a council which he had summoned before the holding of the diet of Worms,[1] no doubt with the intention either of confirming what should be done there, or of even more solemnly reaffirming the sentence passed against Henry by the council of Rheims.

In the middle of Lent (March 18, 1123) was opened the council which is reckoned the ninth ecumenical council, or the first general council of the Lateran. We are told that most of the prelates of Europe were present;[2] nor need we doubt the assertion, since it appears that some three hundred bishops[3] and over six hundred abbots, nine hundred and ninety-seven prelates in all, assisted at it. The most important work of the council consisted in the confirming of the concordat of Worms, and in the absolving of the emperor from the excommunication decreed against him by the council of Rheims.[4]

The council also issued a number of disciplinary decrees. We have the usual ones against simony and the marriage of the higher clergy. But now, for the first time, such

Pope—an idea which never came to anything—he expressed his grief over the miseries which had been brought upon the churches and which it was his duty to hinder, and observed that God brought it about that the rulers of the Church and the empire were of the same blood in order that they might be more useful to Him and to His people. "Quoniam Deus ex una et eadem linea carnis et sanguinis principem sacerdocii et imperii populo suo preordinavit," etc. Ep. Henrici, ap. Robert, *Bullaire*, ii. p. 391.

[1] Ep. 304, June 25, 1122. *Cf.* ep. Adalberti ad Calixt., ap. Robert, *Bullaire*, ii. 388.

[2] Falco, an. 1123.

[3] Simeon of Durham, *l.c.*, 1123. Suger, who was present at the council, says over three hundred bishops took part in it. *Vit. Ludovic.*, c. 26.

[4] Falco, *l.c.* The council was called "quatenus, . . . pactum cum I. Henrico positum perpetuo confirmaret." *Cf.* Suger and Simeon, *ll.cc.* Unfortunately, no detailed account of this council has reached us.

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marriages were declared null and void.[1] The ordinations held by the antipope Bourdin, after he had been condemned by the Roman Church, were declared null and void (*irritas*). Those who had taken the cross to fight the infidel in Palestine or in Spain, and had not yet fulfilled their vows, were ordered to do so at once. "With the consent of the prefect,"[2] certain mal-practices of the *Porticani*, the inhabitants of the quarter of the colonnade of St. Peter, were ordered to be put an end to. And no doubt also with special reference to Rome it was forbidden to fortify churches, and to snatch votive offerings from altars. Utterers of false coin were declared excommunicated, "as oppressors of the poor, and disturbers of the public peace"; and so also were those who put fresh imposts and tolls on merchants. The observance of the Truce of God was still further insisted on. Several canons restricted the parochial action of monks, and defined more exactly their relations with their episcopal *ordinaries*.

Among the many causes that were brought to a satisfactory termination by the council, some of which will be mentioned later, was the canonisation of Conrad, bishop of Constance.[3]

The pictures of Calixtus.

Not content that notice of the work of reform begun by St. Leo IX., promoted most especially by Gregory VII., and fixed by himself, should be committed only to parchment, Calixtus employed the art of the time, such as it was,[4] to commemorate the history of the fifty years'

[1] "Contracta quoque matrimonia ab hujusmodi personis disjungi judicamus." Can. 21. *Cf.* Robert, p. 169 f. The numeration of the canons by Robert, p. 162 ff., is here followed.

[2] This expression seems to show that he was consulted in what concerned the civil affairs of the city.

[3] Ep. 358.

[4] Grimaldi called the picture in the chapel of Calixtus "pictura inepta." Ap. Müntz, *Recherches sur les MSS. archéologiques de Jacques Grimaldi*, p. 254, Paris, 1877.

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The Fresco of Calixtus II.
(From a drawing edited by Const. Cajetanus in 1638.)

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struggle. Not only did he cause the text of the concordat to be painted on the walls of a hall adjacent to his chapel of St. Nicholas of Bari,[1] but built the said chapel, perhaps on the site of the oratory of St. Cesarius, in the *vestiarium* of the Lateran Palace, as a kind of memorial of the great investiture quarrel.[2] The decoration of the new chapel was begun by Calixtus II., but seems to have been finished by the antipope Anacletus II.[3] That portion of it which occupied the apse showed two rows of figures. The upper row filled the conch of the apse. Its centre was occupied by a crowned figure of our Lady seated on a throne, grasping a cross with one hand, and with the other holding her divine child on her lap. Close to her throne on each side are angels with torches. Further away on her right is an erect figure of Pope St. Sylvester, wearing a tiara, and on her left another erect figure of a Pope without a tiara, which the existing copies of the original designate as St. Anastasius I., but which seems to have been meant for St. Anacletus I. Grasping the feet of our Lady are two kneeling Popes, both represented with square nimbuses. The one on her right is Pope Calixtus II. himself, and the one on her left is, in our copies, like the erect Pope near him, set down as a Pope Anastasius (viz. Anastasius IV., 1153–1154), but it is probably the antipope Anacletus II. Immediately below our Lady is the inscription: "*Presidet æthereis pia virgo Maria*

[1] Pandulf: "In Lateranensi palatio tabula privilegii representat." In the sixteenth century the letters were almost effaced. *L. P.*, ii. 324, n. 12.

[2] Pandulf and Boso. *Cf.* Duchesne, *ib.*, p. 325, n. 22. This chapel survived the abandonment and destruction of the Lateran, and was only destroyed under Benedict XIV. in 1747. *Cf. supra*, vii. p. 257. Descriptions and drawings of it have come down to us from the sixteenth century.

[3] *Cf.* Duchesne (*l.c.*), whom we follow here in preference to De Rossi.

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choreis—Above the heavenly choirs sits Mary, pious maid." And below the figures on her right and left run the following lines, according to the copy made of them by Pietro Sabino at the close of the fifteenth century:—

"Sustulit hoc primo templum Calixtus ab imo
Vir celebris late Gallorum nobilitate.
Letus Callistus papatus culmine fretus
Hoc opus ornavit variisque modis decoravit.
. . . . . .

Calixtus first this temple wholly raised
Of Gallic noble blood, renowned far.
With joy Callistus, trusting papal power,
This work adorned, and many ways bedecked."

Now it is certain that there is something wrong with the third verse as it now stands. Not only is the spelling *Callistus* not the spelling of the twelfth century, but the laws of leonine verse require that we should read "Calixtus letus" to rhyme with "fretus." Other antiquaries who copied this inscription in the beginning of the seventeenth century began the third line with "Verum Anastasius"; and it is possible that the remains of letters exhibited by a MS. preserved at Windsor may designate "Præsul Anastasius." But those readings are worse than that of Sabino. If, however, we suppose the said verse begins: "Præsul Anacletus" (Pope Anacletus), we shall not only have a proper rhyme for "fretus," but the four verses will harmonise among themselves, and the meaning they then present will be found to square with what we know of the history of the time. We should thus be told that the building was erected by Calixtus, but decorated by Anacletus; and considering that Calixtus died about two years after the signing of the concordat of Worms, it would seem only likely that there would not be time for him both to build and to decorate his chapel in that interval. No doubt then that, after his overthrow, the name of Anacletus

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was deleted, and that the archæologists of later ages made out what they could from such traces of the letters of his name as were left.[1] Below this inscription is a series of nine upright figures. In the centre, immediately beneath our Lady, stands the patron of the chapel, St. Nicholas of Bari. On his right are St. Leo I., Urban II., Paschal II., and Gelasius II., and on his left are St. Gregory I., Alexander II., St. Gregory VII., and Victor III.

Adjoining this chapel, Calixtus also built an audience chamber, and adorned it also with frescoes relating to the investiture quarrel, which were no doubt admired by his contemporaries, but which were thought "most abominable" by the sixteenth and seventeenth century men who have left us notices of them, and who had gazed upon the wondrous pictorial creations of the Renaissance in all their glorious freshness. One of the pictures showed Alexander II. and his cardinals treading underfoot the antipope Cadalous, with the inscription: "Regnat Alexander, Cadolus cadit et superatur." Another depicted Guibert of Ravenna being treated in the same way by Gregory VII., Victor III., and Urban II.: "Gregorius, Victor, Urbanus cathedram tenuerunt; Gibertus cum suis tandem destructi fuerunt." A third represented Albert, Maginulf, and Theodoric beneath the feet of Paschal; and a fourth Calixtus II. triumphing over Bourdin, as we have already noted.[2]

Though it be granted that the provisions of the concordat of Worms, especially in the matter of freedom of

Consequences of the concordat of Worms.

[1] Indeed, among the many photographs of ancient copies of these frescoes I have had before me in writing this account, not one shows even half the letters necessary to make the third verse. The supposition that Calixtus did not actually carry out the decoration of the chapel is borne out by the words of Pandulf: "Ecclesiam S. N. . . . fecit, . . . et pingi sicut apparet hodie miro modo *præcepit*." *Cf.* Duchesne, *l.c.*, on this and the other points connected with this fresco.

[2] *Cf.* Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 378-379; Robert, p. 157; and Müntz, *l.c.*; and see above, p. 165.

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elections,[1] were far from being always observed by the emperors, they were nevertheless fraught with the most important results in the Church and in the State. Whatever, hereafter, might be the practice in individual cases, a canon of right and wrong had been set up by general agreement which caused any interference with freedom of election to be branded as an illegal act, and principles had been proclaimed which at once put in the wrong anyone attempting to practise investiture.

The investiture quarrel and its just termination[2] spelt death to absolutism in the State as well as in the Church. The successful manner in which the princes, those of Saxony especially, had resisted the arbitrary will of the powerful Franconian emperors, rendered it for ever impossible for the Teutonic Cesar to lord it over free Germans. The independence of the various German races and the different local dynasties was secured, and has in the main remained intact to this day. If the imperial authority maintained German unity, the local governments were the safeguard of personal freedom.

To the Church and the Papacy the concordat brought many advantages. Freedom of election was guaranteed not only to the members of the Church, but also to its Head. The emperor could never for the future claim a right of interference with the election of a Pope, when it

[1] Ebo, in his *Life* of Otho, bishop of Bamberg, the apostle of the Pomeranians, speaks (i. c. 7, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii.) of the freedom of election secured by Calixtus, adding that, before his time, on the death of a bishop, "capitanei civitatis illius anulum et virgam pastoralem ad palatium transmittebunt; sicque regia auctoritas, communicato cum aulicis consilio . . . constituebat præsulem." *Cf.* Herbord's *Life*, i. 3, ap. *ib.*

[2] "A considérer l'organisation du régime féodal, on ne pouvait méconnaître que cette querelle ne se fût terminée de la manière la plus conforme à la justice." Rocquain, *La cour de Rome et la réforme*, i. p. 148.

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had been declared illegal for him to interfere with the election of the most insignificant abbot in the empire.[1] By giving up investiture with the ring and crosier, the emperors acknowledged that they had no share whatever in the imparting of that spiritual power by which alone a bishop is constituted.[2] Finally, the concordat brought to the Church at large, and to the distracted Church in Germany in particular, a measure of peace. For a brief space there was a much needed truce between the empire and the Papacy, between the temporal and the spiritual powers.[3] It is indeed with these powers living side by side as it is with the higher and lower natures of a man. There can never be enduring peace between them; and the history of the Popes and the Hohenstaufens will show the empire and the Papacy soon again in dire conflict.

Meanwhile, with the details and results of the investiture quarrel now before his mind, there is no one, we venture to think, who can call in question the conclusion of Montalembert:[4] "No man, therefore, who has the smallest knowledge of history can fail to see in Rome the sanctuary of spiritual freedom, the bulwark of human dignity, and the hearth where burned the inextinguishable flame of truth." And

[1] "The council (of the Lateran) set the seal to the victory of the Church (at Worms) and the accomplishment of the Gregorian reform. The Papacy had attained its legal independence from the empire, and, resting on the secure foundation of its freedom, recognised by Europe, could henceforth develop its spiritual power into a world-power." Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. pt. ii. p. 400.

[2] Hence a contemporary writer, summing up the concordat, writes: "Canonica auctoritate sancitum est, ne amplius sibi regalis potestas usurparet *investire spiritualia*." *Ann. Rosenveld.*, 1122, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi. *Cf.* other passages bearing on the same point ap. Montalembert, *Monks*, vii. 585 n.

[3] On the consequences of the concordat see also Bowden, *Gregory VII.*, ii. 371 ff.; Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 157. "The Papacy remained master of the field. The emperor retained but one-half of those rights of investiture which had formerly been his."

[4] *Monks*, vii. 589.

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if we allow that "the time was approaching when abuses as well as benefits were to spring from Rome,"[1] we may boldly assert with a non-Catholic writer that "the papal plenitude of dominion over the Western world . . . often degenerated into a tyranny; but that tyranny, even when carried to its greatest excess, was free from the most formidable of those dangers to religion which would have attended the unqualified subjection of the Church and her discipline to secular authority, against which Rome contended in the great battle of half a century, which has been now described."

Calixtus subdues disorderly barons near Rome, 1123.

Now assured of peace with the empire, Calixtus employed the freedom thus acquired in making his authority respected at Rome. "For the preservation of peace," he ordered the complete destruction of a number of towers in the city. One of them belonged to a certain Domna Bona, seemingly "the wife of John Frangipane (the son of Cencius), the sister of Stephen the Norman, and the mother of Cencius II., Leo, and Robert, who figure in the histories of Gelasius II. and Honorius II."[2] The lawless barons of the Campagna also felt the weight of the just hand of Calixtus. Over and over again he led troops against them. Among other places, he took the fortresses of Maenza near Piperno, and Aquapuzza near Sermoneta, and decapitated their lordly owners for killing his governors.[3]

So successful were the energetic operations of this "son of peace," as his biographer justly calls him, that in the city itself signs of order were visible which had not been seen for centuries. No one, whether citizen or stranger, dared to carry arms within its walls.[4]

[1] Rocquain, *l.c.*, i. p. 149.

[2] *L. P.*, ii. 324, n. 18.

[3] Pandulf, and *Annales Cessan.*, 1123, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix. "Iterum et iterum congregato exercitu post alia castra quæ expugnavit, cepit Magentiam," etc.

[4] Falco, an. 1123.

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Public works in the city.

The last two years of the life of Calixtus were taken up with these strenuous campaigns, with another visit to the south of Italy, and with the execution of works for the beautifying or for the utility of the city. The basilica of St. Peter was the object of his special care. To protect it against the plundering habits of the lay nobility, or to save it from assault, he bought a fortress in its neighbourhood, and besides bestowing a number of endowments upon it, renewing its high altar and enriching it with silver candelabra and other gifts, he never entered it, or said Mass within its walls, without making it a present.[1]

In his care for St. Peter's he did not forget those who lived round about its portico, *i.e.*, those inhabitants of the Leonine City who were known as the *Porticani*.[2] By what the Pope properly described as a bad custom, it had come to pass that, if any of the *Porticani* died without a

[1] Pandulf, and P. Mallius, ap. De Rossi, *Inscrip. Christ.*, ii. 221. "Ecclesiam b. Petri de manu laicali eripuit, quam thesauro, etc., honestavit." *Catal. pont. et imp.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii. p. 357. An inscription, No. 59, ap. De Rossi, *ib.*, ii. 426, tells of an "apsidula" in St. John Lateran's raised by Calixtus: "Vir celebris late Gallorum nobilitate," and another (*ib.*, No. 98, p. 434), coming originally from P. Sabinus, tells of his consecrating an altar in honour of our Lady in the Church of S. Spiritus in Saxia (1123). It was erected by John de Crema, cardinal-priest of S. Chrysogonus. Yet another ancient inscription, once to be read in old St. Peter's, ran thus: "Because, like the Prophet, he loved the glory of God's house, Calixtus, of happy memory, recovered and decorated with marbles the altar of Blessed Peter, which looked as though it had been desecrated, in such a ruinous and worm-eaten condition was it. On the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, surrounded by the whole apostolic college, he consecrated the altar stone with great pomp and devotion. On that occasion he granted an indulgence of three years to those who should piously visit this altar once a year." Cited by Darras, *Hist. de l'église*, xxvi. p. 250, ed. Paris, 1879.

[2] The matter of this paragraph is derived from Ep. 410 (July 1123), which is addressed "Porticanis hominibus, Leoninæ civitatis habitatoribus."

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will, their property was seized for the benefit of the prefect of the city. One result of this was that people left the Leonine City, "so that it seemed almost a ruin." One of the prefects, Peter, had, in the presence of Calixtus, formally renounced all claim to take advantage of this custom. The Pope had, therefore, less difficulty in complying with the petitions of the *Porticani*, and by a decree of July 1123 abolished the abuse for ever. The benefits conferred by Calixtus on Rome and its neighbourhood in general, and on St. Peter's in particular, may be summed up in the words of William of Malmesbury:[1] "In his time there were no snares laid for the traveller in the neighbourhood of Rome; no assaults on him when he arrived within the city. The offerings to St. Peter, which, through insolence, and for their lusts, the powerful used to pillage, basely injuring such preceding Popes as dared to complain, Calixtus brought back to their proper use: that is to say, for the public service of the ruler of the Holy See."

On the Alban Hills, between Marino and Grotta Ferrata, rises the stream of the Aqua Crabra. Turning round by Morrena, it runs into the Anio, five miles from Rome. "But at the Casale di Morrena, near the railway junction, the greater part of its water is diverted and flows by a subterranean canal, under the name of the Marrana or Morrena, to Rome, . . . and falls into the Tiber near the Cloaca Maxima."[2] It enters the city at the ancient Porta Metrovia. It was seemingly from this source that Calixtus carried water to the Porta Lateranensis or Asinaria, a gate that was in use up to the year 1408.[3] There he constructed a great basin for watering horses and a number

[1] *De gest. reg.*, v., an. 1119.

[2] Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, p. 358. *Cf.* the map published by Gell with his *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*.

[3] "Hic etiam derivavit aquam de antiquis formis et ad portam Lateranensem conduxit." Boso. *Cf.* Pandulf.

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of water-mills; and there, too, all round about where they could be benefited by the water, he planted both vines and fruit trees.

Death of Calixtus, 1124.

Unfortunately, however, just "when the days of Augustus were returning," Calixtus was seized with the Roman fever. After receiving the last sacraments, "the father of peace, in company with peace herself, left us all desolate" (December 13, 1124).[1]

He was laid to rest in the south transept of the Lateran basilica, near Paschal II., apparently on the day of his death, viz., on the feast of St. Lucy (December 13).[2]

Death of Henry V., 1125.

A few months after the body of Calixtus was carried to the basilica of the Lateran, that of his imperial opponent, Henry V., was conveyed to the massive cathedral of Spires. The great drama of the investiture quarrel closed, as a great tragedy always does, with the nearly simultaneous deaths of those who took leading parts in it. With the childless Henry V. the great house of Franconia came to an end. But the duel between the Papacy and the empire was not over. After a brief breathing space it was to be violently resumed, and was to be continued for a hundred years (1150–1268) by men greater even than those under whom it had been begun. The Hohenstaufens, Frederic I., Barbarossa, and Frederick II., the wonder of the world, were to be faced and vanquished by Alexander III. and Innocent III., by Honorius III., by Gregory IX., and by Innocent IV.

[1] Pandulf.

[2] Pandulf and Boso. John the Deacon (*De eccles. Lat.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78, p. 1386) saw his tomb between that of Paschal II. and that of Honorius II.

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CHAPTER V.

FRANCE, ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND WALES. THE NORTH OF EUROPE.

Peace between England and France, 1119.

THE best service rendered by Calixtus either to France or England was the peace he brought about between the kings of the two countries. Though Henry had his brother Robert, duke of Normandy, in safe keeping in England, and had that unfortunate man's duchy more or less firmly in his grip, the cause of Robert was not lost. His son William had friends not only among some of the barons of Normandy, but also in Louis of France. The young man's claims were taken up, and soon all Normandy was ringing with the clash of arms, the burning of villages, and the groans of the poor.

After the council of Rheims, the Pope went to meet Henry at Gisors (November 1119). "The magnificent king received him with the highest honours, threw himself at his feet, and paid the greatest reverence to one who was not only the chief pastor of the universal Church, but united to him by the ties of consanguinity."[1] Calixtus, after informing Henry that at the council of Rheims he had been occupied with trying to promote a general peace, begged him to grant that peace to his enemies which they sought through the Pope's mediation, and to restore Normandy to Robert. Pretending that Robert's carelessness had already lost him the duchy before he took it, Henry, while refusing to restore the duchy to him,

[1] Ord. Vit., *H. E.*, xii. 24.

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showed himself ready to come to terms with Louis of France, "because," as he said, "I both wish to give you satisfaction in all things, and desire a general peace."[1] Terms were soon arranged between the two kings, and a peace was made, satisfactory not only "to the people, who had suffered so much from frequent hostilities," but also, on various grounds, to the Pope. Peace between France and England was to a lover of peace and the poor desirable in itself. It was also a step towards peace between the Papacy and the empire, and in any case meant that one who was friendly towards him[2] would be more at liberty to help him.

The primacy of Lyons and Sens.

But however amenable to the wishes of the Pope Louis might be under ordinary circumstances, he soon grew impatient if anything were done which tended in any way to limit his authority. The one aim of Louis VI. was to extend the power of the monarchy at its centre in the Ile de France, the Orléannais, the Vexin, and Picardy. He began that systematic policy of crushing the local feudal nobility which, steadily persevered in by his successors, was to render them the most powerful absolute monarchs in Europe.

With the view of strengthening the ecclesiastical unity of France, Calixtus had confirmed the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Lyons over the metropolitans of Rouen, Tours, and Sens, which had belonged to it of old (January 5, 1121).[3] At this period the kingdom of Burgundy, of which Lyons was the chief city, was dependent upon the empire. It had been ceded to it in 1038 by

[1] Ord., *l.c.*

[2] According to Calixtus himself (ep. 412), Louis was one who "loved God, venerated His churches, and paid due honour and respect to ecclesiastics."

[3] Ep. 212. "Constitutum antiquitus Lugdunensis ecclesie primatum presentis decreti pagina confirmamus."

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Rudolf III., king of Burgundy.[1] Louis, therefore, was not at all satisfied that the metropolitan of Sens, whose jurisdiction extended over a large portion of the royal domains, should be subject to the influence of a primate who was sure to act in accordance with the interests of the emperor. These views he made plain to the Pope, who in consequence suspended his confirmation of the powers of the primate of Lyons, at least as far as Sens was concerned, as there does not appear to have been any difficulty with regard to the other metropolitans. This only partially satisfied Louis.[2] He desired the definite withdrawal of Sens from the jurisdiction of Lyons, and wrote to the Pope to that effect. He told him he would sooner die, and have his whole kingdom in a blaze, than tolerate the subjection of Sens to Lyons; and he reminded him how true he had been to him, listening to neither the emperor's entreaties nor his promises. If, he continued, the ancient primatial rights of Lyons be urged, the ancient exemption of the See of Sens can be equally put forward.[3]

What the immediate effect of this strong letter was is not known; but the difficulty was not finally adjusted till the kingdom of Burgundy became attached to the crown of France.[4]

Abelard. After Calixtus left that country, he continued to exercise influence over it, as over other countries,[5] by his legates. One of the most distinguished of these was the famous

[1] *Cf.* Jacob, *Le Royaume de Bourgogne sous les empereurs Franconiens*, Paris, 1906.

[2] "De sententia sane in metropolitanum Senonensem pro nostro honore relaxata animum nostrum ex parte mitigastis." Ep. Lud., ap. *Bullaire*, ii. 368.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] Robert, p. 125 f.; Jager, *Hist. de l'église en France*, vii. 265 ff.

[5] "Ipse apostolici culminis securitate potitus, libera auctoritate qua Romanum pontificem niti æquum esse probatur, quaquaversum per legatos suos utebatur." Eadmer, *Hist. N.*, l. vi. p. 294, R. S.

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Jew-looking, deformed Pierleone, cardinal of S. Maria in Trastevere, a relative of the Pierleone who was afterwards the antipope Anacletus II. He was the Pope's envoy in France, Ireland, and England, and his legatine power extended even to the Orkneys.[1] Another was the oft-mentioned Conon, bishop of Praeneste, who made frequent journeys through France, often in company with the famous William of Champeaux, bishop of Châlons, the "column of the doctors."

Both these men came into contact with the greatly gifted but inordinately vain and selfish Abelard. William of Champeaux, when lecturing at the cathedral school of Paris, had had his *realistic* doctrines upset by his pupil Abelard, and the cardinal had to decide concerning his orthodoxy at the council of Soissons (spring 1121?). He was accused of refining away altogether the distinctions between the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, and was finally made to burn with his own hands his *Introductio in theologiam*, as teaching Sabellianism. It is unfortunate that the details of this synod are only known to us from a letter of Abelard himself.[2] However, Otto of Frising allows that he was condemned without a hearing, as all knew his masterly skill in debate.[3]

As Abelard does not appear to have had any personal relations with Calixtus, we shall pass on to that Pontiff's dealings with England.

[1] Functus . . . legatione Galliæ ac totius Britanniæ, Hiberniæ et Orcadarum insularum." *Ib.*, p. 295. Henry took care that he did not exercise his legatine powers while he was in England. *Cf.* ep. 412, in which Calixtus commends Pierleone to Louis, and asks him to receive the envoy "tamquam vicarium nostrum."

[2] Ep. i.; see *Hist. calamitatum*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 178.

[3] "Nulla sibi respondendi facultate, eo quo disceptandi in eo pericia ab omnibus suspecta haberetur, concessa." *Gesta Fred. imp.*, i. 49. *Cf.* Hefele, *Conc.*, vii. 610.

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ENGLAND.

The York and Canterbury dispute.

Not only did our country at once acknowledge Calixtus as the legitimate successor of St. Peter,[1] but, as we have just seen, the Anglo-Norman historian, Ordericus Vitalis, put into the mouth of Henry I. the declaration that he wished to give the Pope satisfaction in all things. Yet, in fact, he would neither restore Normandy nor liberty to his brother Robert at the Pope's request, nor would he at first allow the archbishop of York to return to England. Even when the joint exertions of the Pope and of Thurstan himself secured the accomplishment of the last-named point (1121),[2] the question of the independence of the archdiocese of York was far from being settled. The Pope indeed gave Thurstan the pallium, confirmed his metropolitan rights, and ordered his suffragans, including the bishops of Scotland, to obey him as their archbishop.[3] But the archbishop of Canterbury had no mind to give up the primacy, which he believed had been conferred upon his see by Pope Gregory the Great, and which the monks of Canterbury assured him had been confirmed by Pope after Pope, as papal privileges in their archives showed.[4]

[1] Through Henry and Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury; though in England: "aliis hunc (the antipope Gregory VIII.), aliis illum (Calixtus), aliis neutrum ecclesiæ Dei jure prælatum asserentibus." Eadmer, *H. N.*, v. p. 249.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 96. *Cf.* in Thurstan's behalf the following letters of Calixtus: epp. 44–46, 86, 93, 94 (1119); 154 (1120). The archbishop returned to England in January. *Cf.* Eadmer, vi. p. 291.

[3] *Cf.* ep. 106 (November 20, 1119), to Ralph, bishop of Durham; to Ralph, bishop of the Orkneys; to John, bishop of Glasgow, and all the bishops of Scotland. *Cf.* ep. 108.

[4] "Ex occasione quorundam privilegiorum Romanorum de dignitate et primatu Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, quæ monachi nuper invenerant vel *cogitaverant*." Hugh, p. 195. Hugh, it will be seen, does not hesitate to insinuate that the famous series of papal privileges for Canterbury, of which there has been frequent mention in these pages, were forgeries. But Eadmer (*H. N.*, l. vi. p. 296) declares that though the

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He induced[1] the king to summon Thurstan (August 1121) to a council to be held at Michaelmas.[2]

He had previously written a very long expostulatory letter to the Pope.[3] He had pointed out that from the days of Pope Gregory the Great the Apostolic See had been ever bestowing dignities on the Church of Canterbury, as it in turn (except in the case of a "certain Stigand") had ever offered obedience to the Apostolic See.[4] As a result, what Rome was to Canterbury, Canterbury became "to the whole of Britain." It was the ambition of the archbishops of York to overthrow the primacy which Rome had given to Canterbury. Ralph then gives a summary of the history of the Church in England drawn from the History of Bede, in which he strove to prove that the primacy given by Gregory I. to Canterbury had in

originals (*bullatas cartas*) had been destroyed by fire, authentic copies had been made of some of them (*paucis illarum in antiquis scedulis vel veteribus libris quoquomodo raptim transcriptis atque retentis*), and that these copies were placed before Cardinal Pierleone, on the occasion of his abortive mission as legate to England in 1121. After careful examination of them (*quibus perspectis atque perpensis*), the distinguished cardinal was evidently satisfied with them, for he gave it as his opinion that an injustice had been done to Canterbury which he would try to have undone. On the discovery of these documents see Eadmer, l. v. p. 260 f. and 276. He gives them on p. 261 ff.

[1] "Ille (Ralph) eum apud regem non est infestare defessus." Hugh, *l.c.*

[2] Hugh, p. 196.

[3] It is printed in Twysden, *Decem. SS.*, p. 1735 ff.; Raine, *Historians of York*, ii. 228 ff., where it is assigned to the year 1119; and in Robert, *Bull.*, ii. p. 370 ff., where it is assigned to the year 1122. It was undoubtedly written after the council of Rheims (*cf.* p. 249, R. S.), and before the examination of the Canterbury documents by Pierleone in 1121.

[4] "In consuetudinem religionis devenit, quatenus Apostolica sedes quicquid dignitatis, primatus et privilegii catholico et canonico more decebat, ecclesiæ Cantuariensi impenderet; et ecclesia Cantuariensis, quicquid *humilitatis*, *subjectionis et fidei* Christiano et ecclesiastico jure decebat, Apostolicæ sedi perpetua stabilitate referret." P. 228. We quote from Raine's edition, R. S.

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fact been exercised by that see up to the Norman Conquest. Reminding Calixtus that the Popes engaged not to act against the decrees of their predecessors, he declared that in exacting submission from the archbishop of York he was not disobedient. Canterbury had received this homage "for many thousands of days, not against the will of Peter, but with it and under it."[1] He did not, be said, desire what was not his, but the Church of York had ever yielded canonical subjection (*manus dationem, subjectionem et professionem*) to the See of Canterbury. In conclusion, he besought the Pope, if he thought it well, to send to England some of his cardinals and of the bishops of France to examine his claims and those of York on the spot. "Again and again we call on your majesty not in these last days to despise the good faith of the Church of Canterbury and its devoted obedience (*optimam obedientiam*) towards the supreme and first see of Blessed Peter."[2] No doubt the mission of Cardinal Pierleone to England, which, as we have already noted, Henry contrived to render futile, was in connection with this dispute about the primatial rights of Canterbury.

But if Henry could by force or guile prevent the Pope from settling the difference in the way he wanted, he was unable to work his own will in the matter. When in due course Thurstan presented himself before him and his council at Michaelmas (1121), he simply assured the king that if he had refused his profession to Canterbury "before

[1] "Hoc (the subjection of York), salva benevolentia Romanæ sedis excellentiæ, non contra Petrum, sed cum Petro et sub Petro multis millibus dierum (Cantuaria) meruit." Pp. 248-249.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 251. To this letter, which shows that whatever were the traditional rights of the See of Canterbury, its archbishops acknowledged that their continuance depended on the will of the Pope, there is no allusion whatever in Hook's *Life* of Archbishop Ralph, nor in Stephens, *A History of the English Church* (1066-1272).

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he was formally exempted from it by the Pope, he was less likely to submit afterwards." He then presented to the king the privilege of Pope Calixtus.[1] That put an abrupt term to the discussion, and Thurstan returned to his diocese.

A new archbishop.

The death of Ralph, which took place soon after (October 20, 1122), did not improve the position of Thurstan. The king, too, was annoyed that without his consent the archbishop had received the papal summons to the Lateran council, and had signified his intention to obey it.[2] However, on this matter, Henry's vexation was short-lived, and when, after a stormy debate between the bishops on the one hand, and the nobles and the monks of Canterbury on the other, the monks were practically forced to elect a secular clerk, William of Corbeil, and not a monk, Henry turned to Thurstan for his opinion on the man thus selected (February 1123). The archbishop praised both his learning and his virtue, and signified his readiness to consecrate him.[3] His proffered services, however, were declined, unless he would consecrate him "as primate of all England."[4]

This, needless to say, Thurstan would not do, but pressed the king for leave to betake himself to the Lateran council. But Henry requested him as a favour to wait till William was ready to go for the pallium, promising to explain his absence to Rome. When the two archbishops arrived in Rome, the election of William was regarded as uncanonical, and had it not been for the generous intercession of Thurstan, it would have been rejected by the Pope.[5]

[1] Hugh, pp. 196–197. [2] *Ib.*, p. 198. [3] *Ib.*, p. 199.

[4] Simeon of Durham, *De gest. reg.*, an. 1123.

[5] Hugh, pp. 200–203. "Et nunc pro certo existimo quod nisi Eboracensis Cantuariensem adjuvisset, pallium tardius accepisset; si ei nocere voluisset, hac vice omnino non habuisset." *Ib.*, p. 203. *Cf.* p. 208. From this it is evident that when Stephens wrote that Thurstan

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Though it was through the good-will of Thurstan that William received his pallium from Calixtus,[1] that fact did not prevent his party from striving by argument, and, according to Hugh, even by bribery, to obtain the withdrawal of the privilege in favour of Thurstan. But as there was question of the examination of the ancient papal privileges which both parties professed to have at home, the dispute between the rival archbishops could not be then and there settled. Both William and Thurstan returned to England with papal letters. William was recommended to his suffragans, and kindly treatment was asked for Thurstan from the king and from William of Canterbury.[2]

The legatine mission of John of Crema, 1124–1125.

To settle this primacy quarrel and other matters, Calixtus next year (1124) sent the cardinal-priest, John of Crema, as his legate to England. But before John landed in England, Calixtus died. His successor, Honorius II., in due course confirmed John's mission,[3] concerning which it must suffice to note here that it left the primacy question precisely where it was before.

SCOTLAND.

The jurisdiction of York over Scottish bishops.

The steady growth of the feeling of nationality in Europe during this period was, as we have already seen, everywhere causing difficulties in the matter of ecclesiastical juris-

"prejudiced the mind of Pope Calixtus against him (William)" (p. 140), he had not the narrative of Hugh the Chantor before his mind; and it is equally evident that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (quoted by Stephens) is mistaken when it says that it was gold which enabled Canterbury to get his pallium.

[1] Ep. 477.

[2] Hugh, p. 207 ff.; and ep. 477. The letters to Henry and archbishop William in Thurstan's behalf cited by Hugh do not appear to have been known to Robert. The letter to William is dated September 1123, and forbids him "nec ullam ei (Thurstan) prærogativam, quam prædecessores ejus habuisse noscuntur, in aliquo subtrahatis."

[3] Hugh, p. 209.

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diction. Rulers of one nation were loth to have their subjects under the ecclesiastical control of bishops who owned allegiance to a neighbouring and often hostile potentate.

On the grounds of the letter of St. Gregory I. to St. Augustine, committing to him "all the bishops of Britain,"[1] and the jurisdiction over the south of Scotland formerly exercised by Northumbrian bishops, the archbishop of York, somewhere about the year 1072, put forward a claim to supremacy over the bishops of Scotland.[2] His pretensions were favoured by the Popes. Paschal II. wrote to the bishops of Scotland, bidding them show "due obedience" to the archbishop of York (1101).[3] But the Scottish bishops very frequently called in question the claims of the Anglo-Norman prelate; and when, to avoid vexatious delays, Turgot was consecrated by Thomas II. of York bishop of St. Andrews, "in which is the see of the primate of the whole nation of the Scots," it was on the understanding that the consecration was not to prejudice the rights of either see.[4]

With the favour he had found in the eyes of Calixtus, Archbishop Thurstan had no difficulty in obtaining his support against the efforts of the Scotch bishops to obtain freedom. The bishops of Durham, the Orkneys, Glasgow, and Scotland, "suffragans of York," were ordered to obey its archbishop (1119).[5] Sure, however, of the support of King Alexander I., John, bishop of Glasgow, who had been consecrated by Pope Paschal II., refused to acknowledge

[1] *Cf.* vol. i. pt. i. p. 161 f. of this work.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. 159 ff.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 167. He calls the bishops "per Scotiam," "suffragans" of York. Jaffé, 5885 (4404).

[4] Simeon of Durham, *Hist. reg. Ang.*, an. 1074; Haddan, *ib.*, p. 170 f.

[5] Epp. 106–108; Haddan, *ib.*, p. 192 ff.

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the jurisdiction of York.[1] Letters[2] of Calixtus (1122) to the king, to John, and the other bishops of Scotland, were ignored, as also were those of Honorius II., Innocent II., and Hadrian IV.

The question was complicated by claims of the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, and of the archbishop of Canterbury. The former asserted his supremacy over the Orkneys in virtue of his succession from St. Ansgar, the apostle of Scandinavia, and hence of Norway, to which those islands belonged.[3] The archbishop of Canterbury claimed to be the spiritual superior of the Orkneys and of York alike. During the hundred years that the dispute lasted, the different parties did not lose any opportunity of pushing their claims at Rome. Hugh the Chantor tells us how Thurstan used one against the recalcitrant John of Glasgow. Meeting him in Rome in 1125 in the train of William of Corbeil, Thurstan complained to Honorius II. of his failure to comply with the commands of Paschal and Calixtus about rendering canonical obedience to the See of York. John, however, pointed out to the Pope that he had not been summoned to Rome on this matter, but had come as an envoy of the king of Scotland, and contrived to arrange for the hearing of the case on another occasion.

[1] Nicholas, prior of Worcester, flouted the claims of York, and offered "quod etiam volo ut ipsi Scottorum regi dicas, . . . in concilio Romano diratiocinare libertatem, dignitatemque regni et ecclesiæ Scottorum ab Eboraca." See his letter, ap. Haddan, *ib.*, p. 202 ff. The letter belongs to the year 1120.

[2] Epp. 271–273; Haddan, *ib.*, p. 20 ff. and p. 205 ff.

[3] For a long time there were seemingly two bishops in the Orkneys, one sent by York, and the other by Hamburg. Bishop William (*c.* 1102–1168), probably subject to Hamburg, appears to have been the first bishop with a fixed see (Kirkwall). Hadrian IV. finally subjected the Orkneys to Drontheim, and they remained under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of that see as long as they belonged to Norway. In 1472 they were included in the province of St. Andrews. *Cf.* Bellesheim, *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, i. p. 262 ff.

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At the same time, Honorius reminded him that "he had not absolved him from the obligations which Pope Calixtus had imposed upon him."[1]

The struggle of the Scottish kings and bishops for immunity from the jurisdiction of an English bishop continued till the reign of King William. This monarch contrived to free Scotland from all dependence on England, whether spiritual or temporal. By gold he induced Richard Cœur-de-Lion to renounce all pretensions to political supremacy over Scotland, and by the bull, *Cum universi*, of March 13, 1188, which he procured from Clement III., the ecclesiastical controversy of a century was settled. The Pope decreed that the Church in Scotland was henceforth to be subject directly to the Holy See. Only the Pope or his legate *a latere* was to pronounce any sentence of interdict or excommunication in Scotland, and only a subject of the Scottish kingdom or a special delegate from the Apostolic See was to exercise the functions of legate in Scotland. Questions regarding the property of the Church were to be settled within the kingdom, saving in the case of an appeal to Rome.[2] Clement's bull, which was confirmed by Innocent III. (1208) and Honorius III. (1218), definitely freed the Church in Scotland from all further interference by the bishops of this country.

WALES.

The canonical supremacy which the archbishops of York failed at this period to make good over the bishops of Scotland was successfully established over the bishops of

Urban, bishop of Llandaff.

[1] "Frater, quibus b. m. P. Calixtus te ligavit, nos te non absolvimus." P. 215. *Cf.* Raine, *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, i. 196 f.

[2] Clement's bull to William decreed "ut Scotticana Ecclesia Apostolicæ sedi, . . . nullo mediante debeat subjacere," etc. Ap. Haddan, *ib*, 273. *Cf.* the confirmatory bull of Honorius III., ap. Theiner, *Vet. Mon. Hiber. et Scottorum*, p. 8, Rome, 1864.

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Wales by the archbishops of Canterbury, supported, for political reasons, by the English kings. Urban, though probably a Welshman, was not elected, like his predecessors, by the Welsh princes, but by Norman nomination, and was consecrated to Llandaff at Canterbury, A.D. 1107, and professed canonical obedience[1] to that see. In the first year of his reign (October 1119), Calixtus received a pitiful letter from Bishop Urban. It was addressed "to the patron of all Christendom," and was dispatched in the name "of the Church of God and ours, which is under God and you." It reminded the Pope that the Church of Llandaff, founded in honour of St. Peter, had been the head (*magistra*) of all the other churches of Wales, but was now, by the invasion of the Normans and other causes, fallen from its former high state. Assuring Calixtus that during the days both of the British Church and of the Anglo-Saxon Church, the bishops of Llandaff had been faithful both to the archbishop of Canterbury and to the king of the English, he begged his protection against the oppressors of his see, amongst whom he had to include the bishops of Hereford and St. David's.[2]

Hearkening to Urban's petition, Calixtus took his see "under the protection of the Apostolic See,"[3] and addressed letters in his favour to the archbishop of Canterbury and others.[4] But Urban's troubles were not to be settled so easily. His episcopal opponents were not to be put down. In 1128 he went to Rome in person to seek the aid of

[1] Hughes, *A History of the Church of the Cymry*, p. 153, following Haddan and Stubbs, *l.c.*, i. 302.

[2] Ep. 3*, ap. epp. Calixt. II., p. 365. "Ecclesia Dei nostraque sub Deo et vobis vestræ misericordiæ et pietati hanc dirigit epistolam," etc. October 1119. Bernard, the bishop of St. David's, was the first Norman appointed to a Welsh bishopric.

[3] Ep. 72.

[4] Epp. 72–75, November 1119, or ap. Haddan, *l.c.*, i. 309 ff.

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Honorius II. This he obtained, and King Henry caused the apostolic mandates in his favour to be put into execution.[1] Still the numerous letters of Honorius on his behalf,[2] and the exertions of the king of England in his interests, did not secure Urban's position. Counter-claims were set up against him by the See of St. David. Nevertheless, Innocent II. took up the cause of the struggling bishop, which was only ended by his death in 1134, on the occasion of a fresh journey to Rome to prosecute his appeal.[3]

NORTHERN EUROPE.

Iceland.

The Popes of the early part of the twelfth century were in frequent communication even with the most northerly countries of Europe. We have records to show that not only did distinguished Icelanders go on pilgrimage to Rome at this period,[4] but that they received from Paschal the first bishop of their northern See of Holar in Sheltie-dale. We are indebted to the entertaining saga of this prelate (*Joans Saga*) for very interesting information regarding his career. The first important statement it contains is to the effect that "the holy John was married and had two wives, and the first one lived but a short time."[5] This good man was selected by Bishop Gizor of the southern Icelandic See of Skalholt to be the first incumbent of the northern see. He chose him "with the consent of all the clerks and laymen in the Northlander's Quarter."[6] He was then sent for consecration to Archbishop Auzor, archbishop of Lund, to whom Paschal had

[1] Contin. of Florence of Worcester, an. 1128. Calixtus confirmed the privileges of his see. Ep. 406.

[2] Haddan, *ib.*, i. 321-336.

[3] Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist.*, vii., an. 1134; Malmesbury, *Hist. Nov.*, i. 7. *Cf.* Haddan, *ib.*, i. 336-344.

[4] Flossi went to Rome in 1114, and Kari in 1116. *Cf. Njal's Saga.*

[5] C. 5, n. 2, ap. *Origines Islandicæ.* [6] C. 6.

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sent the pallium.[1] "But," exclaimed Auzor, "because thou hast had two wives, I dare not consecrate thee without the leave of the Pope." He accordingly sent him to the Pope, who received him very well; and as he found everything about him in the letters of Gizor and the archbishop quite satisfactory,—at least so says the saga—he gave Auzor permission to consecrate him. This was duly done on April 29, 1106. John proved a truly great bishop, establishing schools and bringing to Iceland masters from Denmark and France.

As it is certain[2] that his second wife, Waldis, was alive when he was a bishop, it would be interesting to know on what understanding Paschal agreed to his consecration.

Denmark and Peter's Pence.

Passing over the letter of Calixtus to the brothers Eystein and Sigurd Jorsalfarer, kings of Norway, admonishing them to accept, as bishop of the Orkneys, Ralph, who had been consecrated by the archbishop of York,[3] we may turn our attention to the Church in Denmark.

Already, before the year 1042, Peter's Pence had been paid by the Danes. But in Denmark, as in other countries, it was often collected carelessly or fraudulently. Pope Paschal, therefore, in 1104, found it necessary to write to Auzor, the new archbishop of Lund, of whom mention has just been made, and to the other bishops throughout the country, and to exhort them to exert themselves in order that the Roman Church might not be further defrauded of its rights.[4]

Lund and Hamburg-Bremen.

The act of Pope Paschal which erected the See of Lund into an independent archbishopric, of which Auzor[5] was the

[1] "Eodem anno (1104) misit Pascalis P. pallium Ascero archiepiscopo rogatu et procuratione Erici regis." *Knytlingasaga*, n. 83, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix. *Cf. Chron. Danorum Sialandica*, an. 1103, ap. *ib.*

[2] *Joans Saga*, c. 12. [3] Ep. 107. *Cf. supra*, p. 197.

[4] Jaffé, 6335 (4698). *Cf. Liber Censuum*, i. p. 226, ed. Fabre.

[5] Otherwise spelt Adzer, Asterus, Ascerius, Oëgur.

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first incumbent, was not likely to pass unchallenged. His bull, which had made the Danish bishop a metropolitan (1104), had at once curtailed the powers of the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen and abridged the influence of the emperor. Henry took the first opportunity of making representations on the subject to Pope Calixtus; and in 1123 Adalbert, the new canonically elected archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, went to Rome in person to ask for the pallium, and to plead for the rights of his see. He contended that he ought not to suffer for the negligence of his two predecessors, through whose fault it was that the pallium had been lost to his see, and transferred to that of the Danes.[1] His eloquence and the wishes of the emperor prevailed. The pallium, with spiritual jurisdiction over the whole far North, was restored to him.[2] But though a cardinal was sent back with him to instruct the Danish bishops to obey him as their metropolitan, and though to please his protector, the Emperor Lothaire II., Innocent II. confirmed the decision[3] of Calixtus II. in behalf of Hamburg-Bremen (1133), Paschal's settlement remained undisturbed.[4]

[1] *Cf. Annalista Saxo*, ad. an. 1123. "Adalbertus . . . pro reposcenda palii dignitate Romam vadit, . . . pallium obtinuit negligentia duorum antecessorum suorum amissum et in Danos translatum."

[2] "Addidit quoque D. Apostolicus hanc auctoritatem ut prædictæ ecclesiæ pontifex liberam prædicandi licentiam habeat, quousque terra ad Oceanum versus partes illas extenditur." *Ib.*

[3] Jaffé, 7622–7626 (5453–5457).

[4] *Ann. Saxo, ib.*; *Ann. Patherbrunn.*, an. 1123, ap. Jaffé, 7040. "Henrico imperatore (petente) ecclesiæ Hamburgensis jus metropolitanum super Danos, et Suethos et Scridevingos confirmat." *Cf. Liber Censuum*, i. 227 n.

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CHAPTER VI.

POLAND, POMERANIA, HUNGARY AND DALMATIA.

Boleslas III., 1102-1139.

IN the midst of all their difficulties with the empire, Paschal II. and Calixtus II. found time to attend to the spiritual needs of the still semi-barbarous and but half-Christian states of the east of Europe.

His marriage, 1103.

At the beginning of the twelfth century the destinies of the duchy of Poland were guided in a masterful way by the brave and successful but rather cruel Duke Boleslas III., Wrymouth (1102–1139). To establish more firmly the ducal succession in the legitimate branch of the family against the pretensions of his half-brother Sbigniew, he wished to espouse Zbslava, the daughter of Sviatopolk, prince of Kief (1093–1113).[1] As, however, she was a near relative of his, it was necessary to apply to Rome for a dispensation. The case was managed for the duke by Baldwin, bishop of Cracow, who had been consecrated by Pope Paschal II. himself. Putting forward the pleas of political necessity, and the crude ideas of the Christian faith yet in vogue among all classes, he obtained the Pope's permission for the wedding. "And so," adds the contemporary Polish chronicle assigned to Martinus Gallus, "the authority of the Roman See, as is said, sanctioned this marriage exceptionally and out of merciful consideration, but not in accordance with either canon law or custom" (1103).[2]

[1] *Chron. Nestor.*, c. 84.

[2] II. 23, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160. The dispensation does not seem to have pleased Martin, but he goes on to state that it is not his affair to treat of sin and justice, but of the deeds of the dukes and kings of Poland.

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Soon after the marriage of Boleslas with the Russian princess, if not indeed in connection with it, there appeared in Poland as legate of the Pope, Walo (or Galo), bishop of Beauvais.[1] His mission was to push on in Poland the work of ecclesiastical reform which the Popes were endeavouring to effect in every country in Europe. He was received with great honour by the warlike duke. A council was held, and with the support of Boleslas, two unworthy bishops were deposed.[2] And then, to use the significant words of the chronicler, "the apostolic envoy gave his blessing and returned to Rome, while the bellicose Boleslas went to fight his enemies."

A papal legate in Poland, *c.* 1104.

Among these were the Slavonic Pomeranians,[3] who, to the north of Poland, dwelt on the shores of the Baltic, between the Oder and the Vistula. Fierce and brave, skilful fighters both on sea and land, accustomed to live

The Pomeranians.

[1] As he was translated to Paris in 1104–1105 (see Gams, *Series Epp.*, p. 511), he cannot have been in Poland as bishop of Beauvais in 1123–1125, as is stated in Helmolt's *Hist. of the World*, v. 478, ed. London, 1907. The page in question appears to contain many other errors. "Romanæ sedis legatus, Walo nomine Belvacensis episcopus, Poloniam advenit." *Chron Polon.*, ii. 27. Some years later, towards the close of the reign of Calixtus, another papal legate, Ægidius or Giles, cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, and, as he styles himself, "S. R. E. et D. Kalyxti Pape per Hungaricum et Polonicum Regnum legatus," appeared in Poland. With the consent of Boleslas and Radostus, bishop of Cracow, he confirmed "by apostolic authority" the property of the monastery of Tinecia, its lands, its dues, and all that was called after the Polish fashion *pomochne*, and he decided that "the monastery of Tinecia was wholly free, saving the honour and reverence due to Bishop Radostus and his successors." *Cf.* the cardinal's charter ap. Bielowski, *Monumenta Poloniæ*, i. 516 ff.

[2] *Chron. Polon.*, ii. 27. The legate is praised because "duos episcopos ibi nullo vel prece vel pretio subveniente deposuit."

[3] Herbord (*Dialogus de vita Ottonis*, ii. 1) gives the derivation of Pomerania as from two Slavonic words, *pome* (near) and *moriz* (the sea). In Polish *morze* means "the sea." Hence, says Herbord, Pomerania from Pomerizania; and it should be noted that *maritime* in Polish is *Pomorszczyzna*.

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by plunder, they were naturally a thorn in the side of a people at once Christian and somewhat more civilised than themselves. The continual wars between them and the more or less Christian Poles were a great hindrance to the spread of Christianity among them, as was also the fact that the Poles, when victorious, endeavoured to impose it upon them by force. But the Pomeranians were hard to conquer; and no sooner were they subdued than they rose again, and threw off at once not only the dominion of the Poles, but their religion, which they had never regarded as anything else but a badge of their subjection to the Poles.

Bishop Bernard attempts to convert them.

In the wrymouthed Boleslas III., however, they found one who was determined to be their master. After he had, with some degree of firmness, fixed his yoke on their necks, he essayed to plant his religion in their hearts. But for some time he could not get preachers, for the savage manners of his new subjects, and the tragic way in which they had terminated previous attempts to convert them, daunted the bravest. At length, about the year 1122, there arrived at his court a Spaniard, Bernard by name, who had been consecrated bishop at Rome. There he heard that the Pomeranians were still pagans, and there he was seized with the desire of "either incorporating them in the Catholic Church by faith, or of there laying down his life for Christ by martyrdom."[1]

When Boleslas found that, despite what he had to tell him of the difficulties and dangers of the work he had set before himself to do, Bernard was still resolved to go forward, he was overjoyed, and supplied him both with an interpreter and a guide. Arrived at Julin (now Wollin) in humble guise, poorly clad and barefoot, he began to preach with great earnestness the Word of God. But the rude Pomeranians had peculiar ideas of their own.

[1] Ebo, *in vit. Ottonis*, ii. 1.

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"Unable to judge except by outward appearances," they were not impressed by the exterior of the holy missionary. Consequently, when he told them that he was a servant of the true God, the Maker of heaven and earth, they turned on him indignantly. "How," they asked, "can it be that you are the messenger of the supreme Deity. He is glorious and all-rich, but you are miserable-looking and so poor that you have not shoes to your feet. . . . The great God would never have sent us so abject an envoy. If He had wished our conversion He would have sent us a becoming minister, one worthy of His power."[1] They would neither hear him nor be provoked to put him to death;[2] they simply sent him out of their country, after nearly killing him for his attempt to provoke them.

Otho, bishop of Bamberg, apostle of the Pomeranians.

Having heard of his noble but futile effort to convert the Pomeranians, Otho, the famous bishop of Bamberg, made it a point of conversing with him on his missionary journey. As he listened to Bernard's account, he was fired with the idea of renewing the Spaniard's attempt. "If you go amongst these heathens, then," said the missioner, "you must go in great state, with abundance of everything; and if they give you any presents, you must give them greater, that they may see you have come to preach the Gospel to them not for gain, but for the love of God. Have courage, then; you will bring many into the true land of promise."[3]

Otho determined to follow the advice which experience

[1] Ebo, *in vit. Ottonis*, ii. 1.

[2] "Correpta secure, columpnam mire magnitudinis, Julio Cæsari a quo urbs Julin nomen sumpsit dicatam (a curious derivation of the name of the city) excidere aggressus est." *Ib.*

[3] *Ib.*, ii. c. 2. "Unde necesse est, ut, si tu lucrum aliquod in brutis barbarorum pectoribus agere volueris, assumpta co-operatorum et obsequentium nobili frequentia sed et victus ac vestitus copioso apparatu, illuc tendas."

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dictated; but first, "realising that all that is done in a house without the knowledge and consent (*disposicione*) of the master of the house is to no purpose, he understood that so arduous a work was not to be undertaken without the authority of the Roman Pontiff. He accordingly dispatched competent envoys to the apostolic Pope Calixtus, and obtained from him permission to preach the Gospel in Pomerania."[1]

Of the work of this "apostle of the Pomeranians"[2] it is not our task to speak. Suffice it to note that a previous residence in Poland had fitted him for the work of converting them, by giving him an opportunity of becoming conversant with their customs and language, and that in his two journeys (1124 and 1127), making much of his authority as envoy of Pope Calixtus,[3] he met with great success. He returned to his diocese "after overcoming and destroying the idols."[4] Among the other idols which he destroyed was one that had been held in the very greatest esteem by the people, viz. the golden three-headed god Triglav.[5] But its triple head he kept for himself, and then sent it to Pope Honorius II., with whose blessing he had undertaken

[1] Ebo, *l.c.* Ebo (†1163) is the most important authority for the *Life* of Otho (†1139). He knew him seemingly by sight, but was not his friend or disciple. He was a monk of St. Michael's monastery at Bamberg, and wrote not long after the year 1151. His *Vita Ottonis* may be read ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bambergensia*, or ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii. Herbord's *Dialogus de Ottone*, ap. Jaffé, *ib.*, or ap. *M. G. SS.*, xx., is also very useful, but he is not so trustworthy as Ebo, whom he follows, especially in his third book. He died in 1168. *Cf. Gesta epp. Halberstadensium*, an. 1124, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv. "Bolizlaus . . . a d. Calixto p. obtinuit, quod ipse d. Ottonem . . . fidem Christi predicandam eidem populo destinavit."

[2] Ebo, *Præfatio in vit.* [3] *Ib.*, ii. 4.

[4] Cosmas of Prague, *Chron.*, l. iii., ap. *P. L.*, t. 166, p. 240.

[5] On these three-headed gods of the Slavs see vol. iii. p. 109 of this work; and on Triglav in particular, see Ebo, ii. 13, iii. 1, and Herbord, ii. 32.

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his second journey,[1] as an earnest of the conversion of the Slavs: "that is, to show to the apostolic Pope and the Universal Church what, in obedience to them, he had been able to accomplish among those peoples 'by rooting up and planting, by building and destroying'"[2] (Jer. i. 10).

The good bishop continued to watch over the new church till his death. He provided for its ecclesiastical organisation by establishing a bishopric at Julin (Wollin) in 1139, which was placed by Innocent II. under the immediate jurisdiction of the Holy See (1140). After the destruction of Julin by the Danes, the see was transferred to Camin[3] (1188).

HUNGARY.

King Coloman and the Crusaders.

Whilst Boleslas III. of Poland was in constant, if generally in hostile, touch with Hungary, the records of the age that have reached us do not appear to connect in any way closely with it the name of his correspondent, Pope Calixtus II. In all the letters of that Pontiff which have reached us the name of Hungary would seem only to figure once. When renewing the privileges of the famous monastery of St. Giles in Provence, he confirmed to it the abbey of St. Giles in Sümeg, to the north-west of Lake Balaton in Hungary,[4] an abbey which paid the Holy See a tax of two ounces of gold.[5]

The immediate predecessors, however, of Calixtus were often in communication with the rulers of Hungary. In

[1] Ebo, iii. 3.

[2] Herbord, ii. 32.

[3] *Cf.* Gams, *Series Epp.*, p. 266. Despite some inaccuracies of detail to be found in his works, the English reader may consult Maclear, *Apostles of Mediæval Europe*, c. 13, or his *The Slavs*, c. 6.

[4] Ep. 22. "Abbatia S. Egydii de Ungaria." Pope Paschal had, by a special bull, confirmed to Hugo, abbot of the Provençal St. Giles, this Hungarian abbey. Ep. 193, November 1106, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163.

[5] "Simigiense monasterium debet fertonem aut duas uncias auri in rigellis ad pondus Ungaricum." *Liber Censuum*, ed. Fabre, i. 148.

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1095 one of Hungary's greater sovereigns came to the throne in the person of Coloman the Bookish, or the Learned. Fortunately for Hungary, he was not merely a student; he was a soldier also. And he needed his military capacity to control the first undisciplined hordes of Crusaders, the leadership of whom had been offered to his predecessor St. Ladislaus, and who roamed through his territories to the Holy Land, plundering and fighting as they went along.[1]

Urban II. exhorts him to vigilance in the government of his country.

The character of Coloman, and the civilising influence exercised over the rising kingdom of Hungary by the supreme Pontiffs, may, to some extent, be gauged from the following letter addressed by Urban II. (1096) to its sovereign, "the magnificent king of the Hungarians." After assuring him that he had heard of his accession with joy, he added: "Our venerable son Odilo, abbot of St. Giles, has told me that, besides the secular knowledge in which you excel, you are well trained in sacred learning, and, what is of the first importance in a ruler, that you are skilled in canon law. Hence it becomes you, dearest son in Christ, to have a greater care of your own salvation and that of the people entrusted to you than your predecessors have had. To whom much is given, from him will much be required." He bade him raise the glorious standard of the Catholic faith which will bring victory and glory to his banners, and, mindful of the example of King Stephen, "the first of his race to receive the faith from the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church," to obey SS. Peter and Paul, and to show their Church that submissive honour which was tendered to it by him. He went on to warn his correspondent against the antipope Guibert, and to show him to what misery Henry, the author of the existing schismatical troubles, had been reduced. "His most intimate friends,

[1] Sayous, *Hist. des Hongrois*, i. 175 ff.

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men whom he loved as his own soul, nay, even his own son, have turned against him on account of his abominations, and separated themselves from him." In the midst of the stormy times caused by Henry and his antipope, the kingdom of Hungary has for a while, continued the Pope, ceased to obey the Apostolic See, but, as he believed, divine providence had raised Coloman to the throne to take away the veil from the eyes of his people. In conclusion, the Pope begged him to let him know whether he would agree to papal legates being sent to him.[1]

Coloman gives up the right of "investiture."

Negotiations between Coloman and the Holy See must have proceeded satisfactorily; for at the council of Guastalla (1106) he gave up the right of investiture, "as he wished to submit to the divine law, and, according to it, to obey the Pope."[2] Moreover, at a council which was held at Gran (Strigonium) in 1114, many decrees were passed in the spirit of the Gregorian reform. The king was to be asked to ordain that judgments concerning clerics and all church matters should be based upon canon law, and while, "from regard to human weakness," such priests as had been married before receiving orders might keep their wives, those who had not married before being ordained were forbidden to marry. Simony was also forbidden, and a great many decrees were passed which were eminently calculated to advance the interests of public morality, order, and decency.[3]

DALMATIA.

Coloman, king of Dalmatia.

King Coloman, as we have said, was a soldier as well as a scholar, and used his military talents in consolidating the conquests which his predecessors had made towards the

[1] Ep. Urb., 207, an. 1096, ap. *P. L.*, t. 151.

[2] *L. P., in vit. Pasch.*, ii. 373. "Refutacio regis Ungariæ."

[3] Hefele, *Concil.*, vii. 128 f. (Fr. ed.). The decrees of this council do not appear to be correctly given in Sayous, *l.c.*, p. 183.

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West. Not only did he so subdue Croatia that it henceforth remained incorporated in the Hungarian empire, but, despite the opposition of the Venetians, rendered himself master of much the greater part of Dalmatia. In 1102 he had been crowned king of Croatia and Dalmatia at Belgrade (Zaravecchia), and by 1105 he was really, as he styled himself, king of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Croatia.[1]

Paschal and the pallium for the archbishop of Spalato, *c.* 1113.

After he had established his power in Dalmatia (1105), Coloman would appear to have been suspicious of any influence, even of a spiritual order, exercised therein other than his own. From a strikingly vigorous letter of Pope Paschal to an archbishop of Spalato,[2] it seems that the Hungarian monarch had objected to that prelate's taking the usual oath of obedience tendered to the Pope by bishops when they received the pallium from Rome.

[1] *Cf. Memorie per la storia della Dalmazia*, by K. Albinoni, ii. p. 9 ff., Zara, 1809; Sir G. Wilkinson, *Dalmatia and Montenegro*, ii. 231 ff.; and Hodgson's excellent *The Early Hist. of Venice*, p. 248, London, 1901. The old campanile of the Church of S. Maria in Zara is the one built by Coloman in 1105, after he had taken possession of the city in that year. It boasts this most interesting inscription :—

"Anno Incar Dni Nri Jhu Cri Mil CV.
Post victoriam et pacis præmia
Jadræ introitus a Deo concessa
Proprio sumptu hanc turrim
Scæ Mariæ Ungariæ Dalmatiæ
Croatiæ construi et erigi
Jussit rex Colomanus."

Albinoni, *l.c.*, p. 13.

[2] Jaffé (6570) does not assign this letter to any particular year of the reign of Pope Paschal. But it may no doubt be assigned to about the year 1113. It was certainly written after Coloman had got control over Spalato in 1105. Now, as Crescentius (†1112) had been bishop since 1100, there would not be a question of sending him the pallium in 1105. His successor, Manasses, was expelled from the see 1114–1115, and after that the see was vacant for twenty years (Gams, *Series Epp.*, p. 420). It may then be safely asserted that Paschal's letter was addressed to Archbishop Manasses, and that it was dispatched about the year 1113.

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"You have informed me, dearest brother," wrote the Pope, probably to Archbishop Manasses, about 1113, "that the king and his nobles are astonished that the pallium was offered you by my envoys on condition that you took the oath which I had prescribed. By the pallium, my brother, is conceded the fulness of pontifical authority, seeing that, in accordance with the custom of the Apostolic See and the universal Church, metropolitans may not consecrate bishops nor hold synods until they have received it. The same persons would, I suppose, be astonished at the action of our Lord Jesus Christ. For in entrusting the care of all His sheep to Simon Peter, He did so on a condition, when He said, 'Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? . . . Feed my sheep' (St. John xxi. 17). If the Lord of our consciences imposed such a condition . . . how dare we entrust so great a number of Christ's sheep to brothers whose consciences we cannot see, to such as we do not even know by intercourse, and of whose love we are entirely ignorant?

"It is further urged that all oath-taking has been forbidden by our Lord in the Gospel, and that such an oath is not found to have been prescribed by the apostles or by the councils. But what is that which our Lord went on to say—'that which is over and above these (viz., yea and no) is of evil' (S. Matthew v. 37)? That we should exact this '*over and above*' is required of us by that very *evil*. Is it not an evil to withdraw from the unity of the Church, and from the obedience of the Apostolic See?[1] Did not your predecessors condemn a bishop without the knowledge of the Roman Pontiff? By what canons or councils is this permitted? Why must I speak of episcopal translations, which among you are made without reference to the

[1] "Nonne malum est ab Ecclesiæ unitate, a sedis apostolicæ obedientia resilire?" Ep. Pasch., 106, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163.

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apostolic authority, but by the command of the king. To put an end to these and other such evils is this oath required."

After explaining in what sense the Gospel forbids oath-taking, he continued:—

"They contend that this oath is not found to have been ordered by councils, as though any councils could impose laws on the Roman Church, since all councils have been held by the authority of the Roman Church, and from it have received all their authority.[1] And, what is more, that authority has been plainly acknowledged in their decrees. . . . Does, then, the fact, that the king and his magnates have decreed that you should decline the aforesaid oath, seem to you to be a decision of the Gospel? Does not the honour of our primacy seem of the first importance? Have you forgotten the word of our Lord that 'the disciple is not above his master' (S. Matthew x. 24)? Was it to the king of Hungary that our Lord said, 'And thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren' (S. Luke xxii. 32)? . . . They may raise up their heel against the Apostolic See, but the privilege given to it by God when it was said to Peter, 'Thou art Peter,' etc. (S. Matthew xvi. 18–19), cannot be diminished. . . . Since, then, you ask of the Apostolic See the insignia of your dignity which are taken from the body of Blessed Peter, it is fitting that you should show due signs of subjection to it." He concludes this remarkable assertion of papal rights by assuring the Dalmatian archbishop that he is requiring nothing from him which he does not exact from the metropolitans of the Saxons, Danes, and all the others.

[1] "Aiunt in conciliis statutum non inveniri, quasi Romanæ ecclesiæ legem concilia ulla præfixerint; cum omnia concilia per Ecclesiæ Romanæ auctoritatem et facta sint, et robur acceperint," etc. Ep. Pasch., 106, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163.

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According to Gams,[1] Manasses was expelled from his see, but whether it was because he obeyed the mandates of the Apostolic See, I am wholly unable to state.

Ragusa and Antivari.

One of the maritime cities of Dalmatia which Coloman failed to subdue was the famous republic of Ragusa.[2] In 1120 (September 28) we find Calixtus confirming the metropolitan rights of its archbishop over "upper Dalmatia or Dioclea."[3]

A little sooner or a little later (1119–1124), he confirmed the metropolitical rights of its rival Albanian city, Antivari, over northern Albania, and sent the pallium to its incumbent Elias, and acknowledged his right to have his cross carried before him in Sclavonia and Dalmatia.[4]

[1] *L.c.*

[2] *Cf. The Republic of Ragusa*, by Villari, London, 1904.

[3] Epp. 186 and 187.

[4] Ep. 436. He calls Elias "the archbishop of the Church of Dioclea and Antivari." On the present state of Antivari, see Freeman, *Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice*, p. 381.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE EAST AND SPAIN.

The question of reunion between the East and West, 1122–1124.

CALIXTUS would not have been a true heir of the ideas of Gregory VII. if he had failed to make an effort to reunite the Greek and Latin Churches. In 1122 his envoys made their way to Constantinople with letters for the Greek emperor, John II., Comnenus, on the subject of reunion. The Pope's letters are lost, but the emperor's reply to them is extant. John II., known as Kalojoannes, John the Good, was a pious, brave, and virtuous monarch, and indeed by some historians is even accounted "the most amiable character that ever occupied the Byzantine throne."[1] Both his own disposition and reflection on the weak and corrupt condition of the empire must have made John welcome the idea of a closer union with the vigorous West. He accordingly wrote to Calixtus, warmly approving of his efforts, and sent an envoy with instructions as to the mode of proceeding in effecting the reunion. He acknowledged that what the Pope had written about the unity of the churches "was in accord with the truth, and eminently worthy of his great prudence. For what," he asked, "ought to be of greater moment to us Christians than the true unity of the Church? . . . This rich fruit of peace must be earnestly sought by all who obey the laws of God." The wicked are ever striving to rend the divine seamless vesture, but our Saviour will bring their designs to naught. Expressing his approval of what the Pope had done, the emperor went on to say that he had instructed his envoy to inform him as to the manner in which the reunion should

[1] Finlay, *The Byzantine and Greek Empires*, p. 158.

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be brought about (*τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀποδοχῆς*). Finally, after pleading his Eastern campaigns as the cause of his delay in replying to the Pope's overtures, he concluded with an enumeration of the presents, vestments, etc., which he had forwarded to him (June 1124).[1]

The negotiations so auspiciously opened under Calixtus were continued under Honorius II. Unfortunately, most of the correspondence which passed between Rome and Constantinople has been lost. However, there has been preserved another letter "to the most holy Pope" from "John, faithful to God in Christ, Emperor, born in the purple, King, High, Mighty, Augustus, Autocrator of the Romans, Comnenus." This document would seem to show that things were moving favourably for Rome, as the emperor's letter opens with an acknowledgment of the division of the two powers, the spiritual and the temporal. The former (*ἡ πνευματικὴ ἐξουσία*) he declared was given by Christ to His disciples, and by it His ministers bind and loose in accordance with the divine will; the latter, the power of this world (*ἡ κοσμικὴ καὶ σωματικὴ ἐξουσια*), is Cæsar's. United, these two powers work for man's good; divided, they cause the greatest mischief to him. What he has learnt from the Pope's envoys has shown him that he is striving to make the two powers work in harmony. He himself thinks with the Pope, who must complete what he has so well begun. If God would only bring about the corporate reunion of the churches, it would be the greatest benefit of the divine goodness.[2]

The reunion question under Honorius II., 1126.

[1] Ep. ap. Robert, *Bullaire*, ii. 395 f. It is also given both in Greek and Latin by Pitra, *De epist. RR. Pont.*, p. 481 f. By an oversight (for the Greek version distinctly gives the date as the June of the second indiction) the cardinal supposes this letter to have been addressed to Honorius II.

[2] "*Εἰ δὲ καὶ σωματικῶς ἡμᾶς ἐνωθῆναι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησιῶν ἕνωσιν . . . συμπονῆσαι καὶ ἀποτελέσαι ταύτην ὁ τῆς εἰρήνης βραβευτὴς εὐδοκήσειεν, εἴη ἂν*

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From whatever reason, whether because the emperor was insincere, or the difficulties in his way were insurmountable, negotiations did not lead to much else except further negotiations. The Emperor Lothaire took up the task of furthering the projected reunion[1] (1135–1136), and his envoy Anselm, bishop of Havelberg, held a theological discussion with the archbishop of Nicomedia (April 10, 1136).[2] In the following year, when Honorius was in Calabria, there reached him an embassy from the Greek emperor, to which was attached "a certain philosopher," one of those fanatics who have ever ruined all attempts to reunite the Greeks and the Latins. We are told that in the very presence of Lothaire he began "to snap and to bark (*canino latratu corrodere*) at the Holy Roman and Apostolic See and the whole Western Church, declaring that the Roman Pontiff was an emperor and not a bishop, that the Roman clergy were all excommunicated and were Azymites."[3] The Westerns, he continued, take after their bishops, who, like Pope Innocent II., distribute money, collect soldiers, and clothe themselves in purple.[4] To attempt to discuss reunion with men of the stamp of this philosopher was out of the question; and it may be assumed that the opposition which Innocent II. had to offer to John's designs on Antioch and other towns in the hands of the Crusaders brought to a close another abortive and little known attempt to reunite the Greek and Latin Churches (1138).[5]

καὶ τοῦτο τῆς θείας φιλανθρωπίας μέγιστον εὐεργέτημα." April, 1126. Ep. Joan., ap. Pitra, *l.c.*, p. 483 f.

[1] Muralt, *Chronog. Byzant.*, p. 134.

[2] *Translatio S. Godehardi*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii. p. 649. *Cf.* Anselm's *Dialogues*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 188, p. 1139 ff.

[3] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 115. [4] *Ib.*, c. 116.

[5] Muralt, *l.c.*, p. 138, relying on ep. Innocent II., 309, of March 28, 1138, ap. *P. L.*, t. 179. The Pope there speaks of the Greek emperor "qui se ab unitate ecclesiæ dividit."

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The patriarch of the Indies, or of the Christians of St. Thomas, 1122.

A thirteenth-century chronicle,[1] while giving an account, more or less mythical, of one "John, patriarch of the Indies," furnishes a curious addition to our knowledge of this attempt at reunion. Professing to quote "from the records of Calixtus," its author relates that in the fourth year of that Pope there arrived at Constantinople, after a journey of a whole year, the patriarch of that part of India which forms the end of the world (1122). He had come, we are told, for the pallium, and he found at the imperial city envoys whom "Calixtus had sent to promote concord between the Romans and the Greek emperor." Learning from these envoys "that Rome was the head of the whole world," he returned with them to Rome. There, in reply to questions put to him by the Pope and his cardinals, he said that the name of the city whence he had come was Ulna (or Ultima, according to another reading), "the capital and ruling city of the whole kingdom of India." It had a circumference of four days' journey, and two Roman chariots could run abreast along its walls, which were so high that even the towers of Rome looked small beside them. Phison, one of the rivers of paradise, flowed through it, most limpid, and yielding gold and gems. It was inhabited by most faithful Christian people. Not far from the city, on a mountain surrounded by a deep lake, was the mother church of St. Thomas the Apostle. Round the lake were monasteries of the twelve apostles. In the *ciborium* of the church, in a silver case (*concha*), suspended by silver chains, was the body of the apostle whole and entire, which, according to John, did the most extraordinary things during Mass.[2]

[1] As we have it now, it is the work of Alberic, a monk of the Cistercian abbey of Trois Fontaines, in the diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne, as interpolated by the monk of Neu-Moustier (Huy). Alberic died after 1252.

[2] *Chron. Alberici Trium Fontium a monacho Novi-Monasterii Hoiensis interpolata*, an. 1122, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii.

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Though there is much in this narrative that is mythical and that foreshadows the wondrous stories of Prester John which were to excite the interest of Europe from this century to the close of the Middle Ages, it has incidentally preserved a grain of truth.

THE NEW LATIN KINGDOMS OF THE EAST.

The knights of the Hospital and the Crusades.

Following in the footsteps of Paschal II., Calixtus not only confirmed the order of the Hospitallers,[1] but endeavoured, by recommending their agent to the faithful of Europe,[2] to obtain financial assistance for them.

But he took a greater interest in the new kingdom of Jerusalem than that of confirming an Order which was indeed to be of the greatest advantage to it, or of sending the pallium to its patriarch, Guarmond.[3]

Calixtus called upon to aid the kingdom of Jerusalem.

In the beginning of his reign Baldwin II., king of Jerusalem (1118–1131), gained some successes in different parts of his dominions; but in 1123 he was taken prisoner by Balak, the sultan of Aleppo. The provisional government then set up, despite the display of a great deal of energy on the part of its chief, Count Eustace of Sidon, feeling that its hold on Syria was becoming very feeble, turned to the West[4] (1123). They sent envoys both to Pope Calixtus and to the doge of Venice, Domenigo Michieli, begging their immediate help. Unable himself to offer any effectual assistance, the Pope at once sent ambassadors to Venice to implore the Venetians by their common faith to go to the help of the distressed Christians of the East. Moved by the joint appeal of the Latin princes and of the Pope, the doge, "a thorough Catholic, bold, and full of days," and the chief nobility of Venice "with

[1] Ep. 20. [2] Ep. 427. *Cf. supra*, p. 110.

[3] Ep. 249, July 1121. *Cf.* ep. 250.

[4] *Cf.* Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, p. 102 ff., Cambridge, 1907; and Conder, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 91 ff.

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great devotion" took the cross. Under the banner of Blessed Peter, which Calixtus had sent them, the Venetians sailed to the East with a great fleet.[1] Their arrival changed the situation. Moslem fleets were destroyed, and the famous city of Tyre captured (July 1124), of which the Venetians, who were always on the look-out for commercial advantages, received one-third. From this time till the death of Baldwin II., the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem enjoyed a large measure both of peace and prosperity.[2]

SPAIN.

Calixtus appeals for help for Spain, 1121–1124.

With his mind full of the needs of the Christians in the East, Calixtus could not forget those others nearer home who were fighting against the same terrible foes of Christianity. Like Paschal,[3] he gave the same encouragement to those who fought against the infidels in Spain as to those who made the Holy Land their battle-ground against them. Addressing an encyclical "to all bishops, kings, counts, and princes, and to all the faithful, he reminded them of the sufferings of the Spanish Church at the hands of the unbeliever, and exhorted them to hasten to the aid of their afflicted brethren. In virtue of his "apostolic authority and of the power given him by God," he granted "the same remission of sins" to the Spanish Crusaders as "to the defenders of the Church in the East." Because he could not be with the crusading army in person, as he

[1] *Cf.* that most valuable chronicle, *Historia ducum Venetorum*, 1102–1178, and 1204–1229, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiv. p. 73. "Principes Jerosolimorum . . . ad pontificem qui tunc Romanæ ecclesiæ preerat, et ad ipsum ducem Venecie nuncios direxerunt, supplicantes . . . auxilium," etc. *Cf.* Robert, p. 189 ff. It is Dandolo (*Chron.*, ix. c. 12) who calls Michieli: "vir Catholicus, audax et plenus dierum." On the other facts mentioned in the text, *cf. ib.*, n. 6 ff.

[2] Ep. 460 shows that Calixtus kept a watchful eye on the enterprises of the Saracens everywhere.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 103.

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wished, he sent it, he said, as his legate, the archbishop of Tarragona, to whom all questions were to be referred.[1]

The sympathetic appeals of the Popes in its behalf greatly helped the Spanish cause.[2] Pope Gelasius had shown such interest in it[3] that, when he went to France, it was rumoured that he intended to proceed to Spain.[4]

Diego Gelmirez.

Calixtus was not behind his immediate predecessors in his interest in both the spiritual and temporal concerns of the Peninsula. He showed himself a great friend to the famous bishop, Diego Gelmirez,[5] who utilised the good-will of the Pope to get for his See of Compostela the metropolitical privileges which had formerly belonged to the See of Braga or of Merida. His great plea was that the bishops of all the other apostolic sees were metropolitans.[6] And, if we are to believe the authors of the *Historia Compostellana*,[7] the chief means he used to obtain the

[1] Ep. 454, April 2, *c.* 1123. The legate was Oldegaire or Odelric, on whom see Ordericus, *H. E.*, xiii. 5, with the notes of Le Prevost thereto.

[2] *Cf.* Ordericus, *ib.*, cc. 2, 4, 5, for the warlike work done by the French in Spain about this time. *Cf.* Robert, p. 191.

[3] *Cf.* his ep. 25, an. 1118, ap. *P. L.*, t. 163.

[4] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, p. 248, R. S.

[5] *Cf. supra*, p. 106 f., and ep. 2, Calixt. The Pope's interest in Compostela and its bishop seems to have dated from 1109, when he went into Spain in the interests of his nephew, Alfonso-Raymond, afterwards Alfonso VII., el Emperador. On the *Alfonsos* of Spain, *cf.* Burke, *A Hist. of Spain*, i. 214 and 415 f.

[6] *Hist. Compost.*, ii. 15, n. 2. "Ad hæc uniuscujusque Apostoli ecclesia ubicumque terrarum ecclesiastica pollet atque gloriatur dignitate." *Cf. ib.*, ii. 3, n. 2. "Ad archiepiscopatum animus ejus semper anhelebat." *Ib.*, n. 4. *Cf.* ii. 12. "Nimirum ad sublimationem ecclesiæ suæ propensius anhelebat." This phrase is repeated over and over again in every variety of diction by the authors of the *Historia Compost.*

[7] *Cf.* ii. 4, 6, 10, 11, 64. *E.g.*, in ii. 11, they speak of Diego's envoys giving the Pope "twenty ounces of gold" not to leave him "without greeting." But we have seen that Calixtus II. had a soul above greed for gold.

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recognition of his plea was gold, at times sacrilegiously taken from the shrine of St. James, and shamelessly distributed among the members of the Roman Curia.

He becomes an archbishop and legate of the Pope.

But before Gelmirez could obtain the archbishopric for which he panted, he had many obstacles to overcome. The primate of Spain, Bernard, archbishop of Toledo and papal legate, not unnaturally opposed his ambitious aspirations.[1] Alfonso I., king of Aragon, was his bitter enemy on account of the support which he gave to his wife Urraca, from whom he was separated,[2] and endeavoured to prevent any of his agents from finding their way to the Popes when they were in France. Hence we are told of Diego's envoys, even bishops, journeying through Aragon as beggars, and feigning to be afflicted with blindness, lameness, or paralysis.[3] In fine, many of the Roman Curia were not too favourably disposed towards him. Their opposition is ascribed by Diego's purblind admirers to unsatisfied avarice,[4] or to an absurd fear which the bishop's panegyrists imagined them to have lest Compostela should become the rival of Rome itself.[5]

Calixtus II. was not a man to be frightened by a bogey, and he made no difficulty in bestowing on Diego the archiepiscopal dignity which had belonged to Merida before it fell under the yoke of the Moors. He extended his jurisdiction at the same time over the ancient archdiocese of Braga, and named him his legate in those two provinces (1120). This he did, he said, in honour of St. James the

[1] *Hist. Compost.*, ii. 10.
[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 104.
[3] *Hist. C.*, ii. 13.
[4] *Ib.*, ii. 15.
[5] *Ib.*, ii. 3. "Verebatur . . . Rom. Ecclesia ne Compostellana Ecclesia tanto subnixa apostolo adeptis juribus ecclesiasticæ dignitatis, assumeret sibi apicem et privilegium honoris in occidentalibus ecclesiis, et sicut Rom. præerat ecclesia, et dominabatur ceteris ecclesiis propter Apostolum sic et Compost. ecclesia . . . dominaretur occidentalibus ecclesiis propter Apostolum suum." *Cf.* ii. 1.

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Apostle, and at the request of his nephew, King Alfonso, of Pontius, abbot of Cluny, and of Diego's envoy.[1]

Diego imprisoned by Urraca, 1121.

In the following year Calixtus had again to interfere in behalf of Gelmirez. The fact of his having once been the guardian of her outraged son, Alfonso VII., and of his being the favoured friend of Calixtus II., her son's uncle, would seem to have enraged the unnatural Queen Urraca against him. She contrived to seize him, and cast him into prison, and to possess herself of the goods of his church (1121).[2]

Calixtus at once wrote to his legate in Spain, Boso,[3] the cardinal-priest of St. Anastasia, to bid the queen, under pain of excommunication, to set Gelmirez free, and to restore the goods of his church within forty days. The primate and the bishops of Spain were also instructed to take action in the matter.[4] The Pope's letter to his nephew, Alfonso VII., is interesting from many points of view. It is addressed "to his most dear nephew, the powerful and glorious king of the Spains." "We give thanks to Almighty God, and to our Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to His great mercy, has freed us from a grievous sickness, and restored us to health. We also thank Him because all the faithful in the city and without it over all Italy are humbly submissive to our will. But there is one thing which makes us most sad, and that is, that your mother, Queen Urraca, has laid sacrilegious hands on our venerable

[1] Epp. 146–148 and 150. *Cf.* epp. 350 (an. 1123), and 502–504 (an. 1124), in which he confirms Diego's new dignities; ep. 239, in which he bids him compel the bishops of Coimbra, etc., to obey him (though the Church of Braga has to be allowed its freedom, epp. 314–315), and ep. 420 (an. 1123), in which Calixtus orders the archbishop of Braga and the bishops of Avila, etc., to obey Diego. *Cf.* Boso, *in vit. Calixt.*

[2] *Hist. Comp.*, ii. 42.

[3] Boso indeed had wished to excommunicate her at once "for the insult offered to Blessed Peter and the Roman Church" in the person of Gelmirez. *Ib.*, n. 5.

[4] Epp. 253–255. Ep. 256 conveys the order to Urraca herself.

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brother Diego, the archbishop of Compostela." The king is urged, by the memory of all that his former guardian did for him when a boy, to work for his release.[1]

Gelmirez is released, 1121.

Before this letter could have reached him, the young king had already taken the part of the archbishop. The people rose, and the queen was soon compelled to restore Gelmirez to freedom.[2] But "she had an insatiable thirst for money, and longed to keep the property (*castella*) of the Blessed James. This was the principal cause of the discord between her and the archbishop, and why most of Galicia was devastated by the scourge of war."[3] It does not, however, come as a surprise when the panegyrists of the pertinacious archbishop inform us that it was not long before he recovered the property of his see.[4]

The privileges of various bishops confirmed.

Though, as we have seen, Calixtus bestowed great favours on Gelmirez, and stood by him to the last,[5] he found that it was necessary to keep his ambition within bounds. And so, whilst reserving to him primatial rights over the provinces of Merida and Braga, he confirmed Bernard as primate of the rest of Spain,[6] and reasserted the privileges of Segovia and Braga.[7]

He never ceased to take a close interest in the affairs of the Spanish Church. Not long before he died he sent to Spain a special legate *a latere* in the person of Cardinal Deusdedit,[8] of whom let it suffice here to state that he was well received by Gelmirez, and became his devoted friend.[9] Distracted as Spain was at this period by civil and foreign

[1] Ep. 257, October 7, 1121.

[2] *Hist. Compost.*, ii. 42, n. 7. [3] *Ib.*

[4] *Ib.*, cc. 49, 51. A little later (September 1122, ep. 315) we find the Pope calling on Diego to work for the release of the archbishop of Braga, imprisoned by Theresa, queen of Portugal.

[5] Epp. 502–504, June 1124. *Cf. Hist. C.*, ii. 66.

[6] Epp. 258–261, November 1121. "Apostolica auctoritate statuimus ut per universa Hispaniarum regna primatus obtineas dignitatem."

[7] Epp. 394, 428. [8] *Hist. C.*, ii. 70. [9] *Ib.*, ii. 70–76.

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war,[1] the organisation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which the Popes were able to effect during it must have had a most beneficial effect on the consolidation of Spanish power. But however this may be, their action certainly increased their own influence in the Peninsula. The admirers of Gelmirez who wrote the *Historia Compostellana* assure us in one place that, up to his time, his predecessors had all been as much fighting men as bishops, so much so that they had been described as at once crosiers and catapults.[2] And when he became bishop "almost all Spain was rude and illiterate. None of the Spanish bishops at that time paid any due regard (*servitii*) or obedience to our Mother, the Holy Roman Church. Spain received the *law* of Toledo, not that of Rome. But after King Alfonso (VI.) of happy memory imposed the Roman *law* and Roman customs on Spain, then, as though the cloud of ignorance had been rolled away, the glory (*vires*) of Holy Church began to shine in Spain."[3]

When due allowance has been made for the intention of his panegyrists to glorify Gelmirez, and to proclaim his loyalty to the See of Rome, enough remains of their evidence to show that about his time papal influence grew considerably in Spain.

The ambition of Gelmirez and his relations with the Apostolic See did not expire in 1124; but in that year died[4] Pope Calixtus, "distinguished for his prudence, humility, chastity, and other moral virtues."[5] Further notices of the intercourse with Rome of the bishop of Compostela will be found in the biographies of Honorius II. and Innocent II.

[1] *Hist. C.*, i. 86.

[2] "Inolevit hoc proverbium, Episcopus S. Jacobi baculus et balista," II. 1.

[3] *Ib.* On the *law* of Toledo *cf. supra*, vii. p. 338 n.

[4] *Vide supra*, p. 187. [5] *Hist. Compost.*, ii. 9.

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From what we have now written of the *Life* of Calixtus, the friend of the rich and the father of the poor,[1] and from the unanimous verdict of his contemporaries, we cannot be far wide of the truth if we conclude with Ordericus[2] that he "was the brightest light and the best model of virtues the Church had in our times."

[1] "Vixit autem pauperum nutritor, pius viduarum et pupillorum defensor." *Catal. Pont. et imp. Rom.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxii. p. 357. *Cf.* Pandulf, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 323, and epp. 292, 399.

[2] *H. E.*, xii. c. 27. *Cf.* Will. of Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, l. v., an. 1119. A long list of contemporary eulogies of Calixtus is given by Robert, p. 199, and need not be repeated here.

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HONORIUS II.

A.D. 1124–1130.

Sources.—Neither of the ancient *Lives* of Honorius is of any great value. That by Pandulf[1] gives us little else but the history of his election; and certain obscurities in it give rise to the suspicion that portions of it were omitted by Peter William in his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*,[2] as being too favourable to what afterwards became the party of the antipope Anacletus. The biography of Boso is very slight. Both of them may be read ap. *L. P.*, ii., or Watterich, *Vit. RR. PP.*, ii. Though Honorius cites the *Registers* of Urban II., Paschal II., and Gelasuis II.,[3] they are no longer extant, and his own has shared their fate. Migne, however, has collected one hundred and twelve of his letters (ap. *P. L.*, t. 166), and Liverani, with those that were addressed to Honorius, has raised the number to two hundred and thirty-four (ap. vol. iv. of his works, Macerata, 1859). We shall cite from the *Bollario* of Liverani. The *Regesta* of Jaffé-Loewenfeld shows that many more have been discovered since Liverani wrote.

To the chroniclers and annalists who treat of Honorius, and who have already been discussed, we may add the name of Alexander

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 1. [2] *Cf. supra*, vol. iii. p. 231 f.

[3] Epp. 99 (April 4, 1126) and 107, or ap. *P. L.*, ep. 47. *Cf.* ep. 109, October 20, 1126, where he quotes "from the volumes of the registers" of Calixtus II. "Regestorum P. Cal. voluminibus."

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of Telese, an abbey near the ruins of the Samnite town of Telesia. Just as to Pontius, its citizen, and the opponent of Sulla, that ancient city gave the surname of Telesinus, so to Alexander, its abbot, was the same designation given by the monastery of Telese. Thither came Roger II., king of the Two Sicilies,[1] and to him, in 1136, Abbot Alexander dedicated a trustworthy account of his exploits, in four books (ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. 611 ff.). Whether or not of set purpose, he does not develop his hero's relations with the Papacy.

The most famous of the great men with whom Honorius came in contact was St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–†1153). Suffice it to say of him here that he attracts men now as he did when on earth, and hence that the biographies of him, by whomsoever written, are generally sympathetic, and that his letters are of the first importance for the history of his times. His works have been published very frequently. The edition from which we shall quote is that of Paris, 1863. It is a reprint of the great Benedictine edition, as is also that of Migne, *P.L.*, tt. 182–183. The saint's works have been well translated into English by S. J. Eales, 4 vols., London, 1889 ff. His translation will be freely used in these pages.

Modern Works.—The third volume of the works of Mgr. F. Liverani (Macerata, 1859) is devoted to the biography of Honorius. The insertion of collateral matter is the cause of its being so full. It is a valuable production.

Many men of all nations and creeds have written on St. Bernard. Mention may here be made of *The Life and Times of St. Bernard*, by the German Protestant Neander, Eng. trans., London, 1843; *The Hist. of the Life of St. Bernard*, by the French Jew who became the Catholic Abbé Ratisbonne, Eng. trans., Dublin, 1855; *The Life and Times of St. Bernard*, by the Englishman J. C. Morison, London, 1863, which is perhaps less sympathetic than the others, but which supplies us with a very interesting biography from the standpoint of a Positivist; *Bernard of Clairvaux*, a series of very good lectures by an American Nonconformist minister, R. S. Storrs, London, 1892; and *Vie de S. Bernard*, by the Abbé E. Vacandard, a work crowned by

[1] Alex., *Hist.*, iii. 28.

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the French Academy, and honoured with a brief from Pope Leo XIII., 2 vols., 3rd ed., Paris, 1902. It is a work of primary importance.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

EMPERORS OF THE WEST.	EMPEROR OF THE EAST.	KING OF FRANCE.	KING OF ENGLAND.
Henry V., 1106–1125. Lothaire II., 1125–1138.	John II. (Comnenus), 1118–1143.	Louis VI., 1108–1137.	Henry I., 1100–1135.

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CHAPTER I.

LAMBERT OF FIAGNANO BECOMES POPE HONORIUS II. HIS CAREER BEFORE HIS ELECTION.

A double election, 1124.

ON the death of Calixtus the illegal interference of the nobility in papal elections again caused trouble. At the moment the two great factions in Rome were the Frangipani and the Pierleoni, the one dominating the region of the Colisseum, with their Turris Chartularia, and the other the district in the neighbourhood of the Island of the Tiber, with their fortress-theatre of Marcellus. By general agreement it was arranged between "all the cardinals of the curia" and the nobility, that, in accordance with the canons, the election of a successor to Calixtus should not take place till the third day after his death. On the side of the nobles the chief agents were the rich and powerful Pierleone I. (†1128), the father of Cardinal[1] Pierleone II., who was to be the antipope Anacletus, and Leo Frangipane, the brother of Robert Frangipane and of that Cencius who had outraged Gelasius II.[2] Leo Frangipane had promoted this understanding in order that he might have the longer time to work for the election of the distinguished diplomatist of the concordat of Worms, Cardinal Lambert, bishop of Ostia. Feeling that a difficult task was in front of him, as it was widely known that the people desired Saxo, cardinal of St. Stephen's, Leo feigned to have

[1] He was cardinal of St. Calixtus'. As "Peter, cardinal of the title of St. Calixtus," he signed many of the documents of Honorius II., *e.g.*, ep. 42.

[2] Pandulf. "Omnes patres de curia cardinales et alii, præsertim Petrus Leonis et Leo Fraiapane."

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the same desire himself. At the same time, to secure the presence of all the cardinals, and so ensure a valid election, he is credited with having privately approached the chaplains (*capellani*) of every one of the cardinals on the evening before the election day,[1] and with having arranged with each of them, unknown to the others, to vest his master on the morrow with the red robe distinctive of the Popes beneath his black cloak. This he did in the expectation that, trusting to his influence to be elected Pope, each of the cardinals, unmindful of what had happened at the election of Gelasius, would boldly come to the place of election and would look to him.

Whatever truth there may be in this story, told by an ardent partisan of the antipope Anacletus, then Cardinal Pierleone (II.) of St. Calixtus', two of whose subsequent adherents were prominent at this election,[2] all the cardinals did assemble in the chapel of the monastery of St. Pancratius. This was attached to the south of the Lateran basilica, where now stands the charming cloister of the canons.[3]

After some discussion, on the motion of Jonathan, cardinal-deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian, neither Cardinal Saxo nor Lambert was chosen, but the cardinal-priest of St. Anastasia's, Theobald Buccapecu. He was duly clothed with the red cope, and took the name of Celestine.[4] But suddenly, whilst the Te Deum was being chanted, and Cardinal Lambert was singing as loud as the

[1] "In sero autem *præsenti*," says Pandulf, to whom we owe this curious story. It is true, as Duchesne notes (*L. P.*, ii. 328), that this phrase does not make sense, but to suppose that *præsenti* is a mistake for *prævenienti* seems a simpler hypothesis than that of the abbé.

[2] Cardinal Saxo, who became the chancellor of Anacletus, and Cardinal Jonathan.

[3] *L. P.*, ii. 43, n. 80.

[4] "Jonathas . . . Teobaldum . . . in papam Celestinum cappa rubea celitus induit." Pandulf.

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rest,[1] Robert Frangipane and his party raised the cry of "Lambert Pope!"[2] He was at once hurried off, seated in the so-called symæ (*sigmæ*)[3] in front of the Church of St. Sylvester, and proclaimed Pope under the name of Honorius II. (December 15).

It is fairly obvious that the party of Pierleone, by their unexpected nomination of Theobald, disconcerted the mass of the cardinals, and they were hurried into proclaiming a candidate they did not want. For, as soon as the name of Lambert was put forward, "the more respectable portion" of them, the *sanior pars* of the election decree of Nicholas II., immediately adhered to him.[4]

Resignation of both candidates.

For some days Rome was the scene of the greatest disorder and tumult; but at length Celestine's supporters abandoned him,[5] and Lambert was left in undisputed possession of the See of Peter. However, as he was "a lover of justice,"[6] he was not satisfied with the manner of his election, and, before all the cardinals, resigned his position, and laid aside his mitre and mantle.[7]

His resignation was accepted, but he was immediately re-elected. All kissed his feet, and acknowledged him "as their bishop and universal Pope" (Sunday, December 21, 1124).[8]

Birthplace and early career of Lambert.

According to Pandulf, Lambert was born of humble parentage in the county of Bologna, more exactly, in the

[1] "Lamberto pariter nobiscum alta voce cantante." Pandulf.

[2] "Ipse (Robertus) cum quibusdam consentaneis suis et aliquibus de Curia Lambertum . . . papam acclamaverunt." *Ib.*

[3] *Cf. L. P.*, ii. 306, n. 4. The *sedes stercoraria* was a different thing to the two symæ. See *supra*, p. 9 f. *Cf.* also Adinolfi, *Roma nell' età di Mezzo*, i. 231; Rome, 1881.

[4] Peter, *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 83. "Fortior et potior pars cum Honorio erat."

[5] *Chron. Cas.*, "Hi qui . . . Theobaldo favebant, rerum eventum videntes, sera pœnitudine ducti ad Honorium reversi sunt."

[6] So he is called by St. Bernard, ep. 14. [7] Boso. [8] *Ib.*

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insignificant hamlet of Fiagnano,[1] near Imola. When we next hear of him, he is archdeacon of Bologna.[2] His reputation for learning at length attracted the notice of the Pope, and he entered the service of Urban II., possibly as a member of the papal chancellary.[3] He was made cardinal-bishop of Ostia by Paschal II. (1117), and throughout all the trying pontificate of his successor, Gelasius II., remained by his side. He shared his exile in France and stood near him at his death.

Shows himself a diplomatist.

But it was under Calixtus II. that his remarkable abilities especially showed themselves. After he had crowned him, he accompanied him in his journeys through France, assisted him in his first dealings with the Emperor Henry V.,[4] and was sent with full powers[5] into Germany to conduct those negotiations which terminated in the concordat of Worms (1122). In that most important undertaking he displayed a happy combination of firmness and tact. His letters are still extant in which he makes known to the emperor his presence in Germany, informs the bishops of France and Germany that he has come "by the authority of our lord the Pope and the whole Roman Church to make peace between that Church and the empire," and summons them all to appear at the council he had ordered to assemble at Mainz on September 8,

[1] Honorius granted certain indulgences to the church of his native village. In a bull of July 13, 1577, Gregory XIII., renewing this grant of his distant predecessor, says: "Cum itaque, sicut accepimus, . . . Honorius II. . . . ecclesiam Castri Fiegnani imolen. dioeces. *unde oriundus extabat*," etc., cited by Liverani, iii. 95 n.

[2] Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, 1126. "Honorius, prius archidiaconus Bononiensis, post Cardinalis, deinde episcopus Ostiensis."

[3] "Bene tamen literatus," says Pandulf. Honorius says himself (ep. 133, May 6, 1127) that he saw a certain deed of gift when he was in the service of Urban.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 156 ff.

[5] "Vicem d. apostolici per omnia tenentem." Ekkehard, *Chron.*, 1122.

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1122.[1] So little was he prepared to brook any want of obedience to his orders on the part of the bishops, that it required the mediation of Adalbert, archbishop of Mainz, to save St. Otho of Bamberg from being suspended by him for his non-attendance at one of his synods.[2]

It seems to have been generally acknowledged at the time that, whatever measure of peace accrued to the Church and the empire by the concordat of Worms was, to a very large extent, due to the exertions of Lambert of Ostia. Hence Ekkehard assures us that the news of his election as Pope was everywhere received with approval.[3]

Some of the qualities of the new Pope.

In the midst of all his distracting public occupations for the good of the Church and the State, Lambert would seem even in his old age to have found some few quiet hours during which he could devote himself to his studies. For when he was elected Pope, men knew at least of his learning, if of nothing else about him. Oderisius, abbot of Monte Cassino, on being asked who the new Pope was, replied that he had no knowledge whatever of his parentage, but that he was certain of one thing regarding him. "He is," said he, "full of literature from his head to his feet."[4]

He had, of course, not become thus learned without effort. He was a hard worker, and wished all those around him to work as he did. He began his labours in the very

[1] Epp. 34–36, or ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, pp. 383–385.

[2] "Sed quia venire neglexistis, dominus cardinalis usque ad satisfactionem a divino officio . . . vos suspendere voluit. Nos autem . . . ne quid durius contra vos diffiniri deberet, vix obtinuimus." Ep. 32, or ap. Jaffé, *ib.*, p. 386. *Cf. Vita S. Ottonis*, c. 35, ap. *P. L.*, t. 173.

[3] "Vir idem . . . probatus . . . in ea legatione, qua ipse dudum in reconciliatione regni et sacerdotii Germanicis in partibus strenue laboraverat, . . . sacerdotum unanimi favore canonice consecratur." *Chron.*, 1124.

[4] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 83. *Cf.* Ordericus, *H. E.*, xii. 42. "He (Lambert) was an old and very learned man, zealous in his observance of the divine law."

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early morning, and did not approve of even exercises of piety keeping his cardinals from an early application to the calls of business. Hence, as his devotions did not allow the saintly Cardinal Matthew of Albano (formerly a Cluniac monk) to begin his work till the third hour (nine o'clock), the Pope used frequently to say to him in a half-bantering tone that he was still a great deal too much of a monk.[1]

Honorius, then, began his pontificate as a bishop already distinguished for his love of justice and of the poor,[2] and with a well-deserved reputation for learning, virtue, and prudence.[3] Unfortunately, however, he did not begin it with a well-filled treasury, nor with a substantial military force at his disposal. His predecessor, Calixtus II., through his powerful family connections, had no doubt been able to wield such supplies of money, and to exercise such influence, that the turbulent Roman barons had thought it advisable to keep within bounds. But when his restraining hand was removed, and the barons found that the new Pope was embarrassed for want of money, they broke out into their old habits of licence. To repress them Honorius had to engage in a number of petty wars which wasted his time without bringing him glory, or even always success. And his efforts to raise the funds necessary for the expenses of government sometimes, as we shall see, brought him into trouble.

[1] "Papa . . . ipsi ad horam tertiam vix occurenti, quod plus nimio esset monachus, velut improperabat." Peter the Venerable, *De mirac.*, ii. 14. *Cf.* St. Bernard's *De consideratione*, i. 1, to Pope Eugenius III.

[2] St. Bernard says to him (ep. 13): "Aiunt apud vos plus valere pauperis faciem, quam potentis vultum." *Cf.* ep. 42, Hon.

[3] Innocent II. (ep. 416, ap. *P. L.*, t. 179) speaks of "Prædecessor noster religiosus et prudens P. Honorius."

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CHAPTER II

HONORIUS AND THE EMPIRE

ON May 23, 1125, died the emperor with whom Honorius, when Cardinal Lambert, had concluded the concordat of Worms. Had Henry not died thus early in the pontificate of Honorius, there is every reason to fear that he would soon again have been at war with him. It is thought that his abortive invasion of France in the last year of his reign was undertaken not merely in the interests of his father-in-law, Henry I. of England, but also because its king, Louis VI., was the ally of the Pope.[1] However this may have been, there were two obvious causes of quarrel between them, viz. the succession to the inheritance of Matilda, and the loyal carrying out of the provisions of the concordat itself.

Death of the Emperor Henry V., 1125.

The Great Countess, Matilda of Tuscany, had, as we have seen, left her possessions,[2] Tuscany, Liguria, part of Lombardy, and Ferrara, to the Popes. Much of what she bequeathed to them had already been given to them by King Pippin, Charlemagne, and other emperors; and it has been noticed that the claims to territory which they made from time to time never went beyond the boundary line from Luna through Bercetum to Mons Silicis, which Pippin had fixed as the limit of his donation. Hence of the inheritance of Matilda they never claimed Reggio, Parma,

The inheritance of Matilda.

[1] Stubbs, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 182.

[2] "Omnia bona mea jure proprietario, tam quod nunc habueram, quam ea quæ in antea acquisitura eram, sine jure successionis sine alio quocumque jure." *Donat. Mathildis*, ed. Theiner, *Codex diplom. domin. temp. S Sedis*, i. 10. *Cf. supra*, p. 72 ff., and vol. vii. 129.

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Mantua, etc., which may have been imperial fiefs. But Henry V., on the death of Matilda (†1115), without making the slightest pretence of endeavouring to establish what legal rights he had to any or all of the lands of Matilda, descended the Alps in 1116, and took forcible possession of all that had been hers. He and his successors thereafter took upon themselves to appoint marquises of German birth to administer Tuscany. But their authority was disputed either by the cities of Tuscany, or by the Pope, or by both. During the whole of the twelfth century (1115–1199), the lordship of Matilda's county was warmly disputed by the Popes and by the emperors. Not unnaturally, Tuscany as an administrative area fell to pieces. Its cities gradually made themselves independent, and at length, in 1199, formed themselves into a league under the protection of the Popes.[1]

Meanwhile Honorous II. made an effort to establish the just claims of the Papacy to Tuscany, and appointed a certain Albert as marquis and duke there.[2] Though Albert may never have possessed much authority in his duchy, the action of the Pope would have sufficed to have caused a quarrel with the despoiler Henry, had he lived to see it.

The carrying out of the provisions of the concordat of Worms.

And if the nomination of a papal ruler of Tuscany had not been enough to cause dissension between Honorius and Henry, the concordat of Worms itself would have been quite sufficient. The emperor certainly never made much attempt to enforce the carrying into effect of some of its provisions. He had undertaken faithfully to help in the

[1] *Cf. L'art de vérifier les dates*, sur "Des Ducs de Toscane"; Balan, *Storia d'Italia*, iii. 247 f.; Cosimo della Rena, *Storia de' Duchi di Toscana* (1139–1170); Sismondi, *History of the Italian Republics*, ed. Boulting, London, c. 1906, p. 97, etc.

[2] *Cf.* Muratori, *Antich. Estensi*, t. i. 293; and *Antiq. Ital.*, ii. 781, ap. Liverani, iii. 13 n.

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restoration of property which had been taken from either cleric or layman during the course of the investiture dispute.[1] But the contents of the subjoined letter, written in the year 1125, may be taken as an indication that the secular power of the empire was not to be relied upon for the faithful carrying out of the provisions of the concordat. It shows that those who had suffered during the investiture quarrel did not think of appealing to the ruler of the empire for the redress of their grievances.

"To his friend Adalbert, by the grace of God venerable archbishop of Mainz, Lawrence, and the congregation of the Church of St. Vanne-de-Verdun, address their respectful greetings and supplications.

"The whole empire knows the most faithful devotion and love which you display towards the Roman Church . . . and all the sufferings you have endured for its sake. That peace (*concordia*) between the empire and the Papacy, which the afflicted Church had so long sighed for, was, after many miseries, brought about to a very large extent by you. Nor were the terms of that peace drawn up without the greatest care. Among them there was a clause to the effect that churches which had been robbed of their possessions, or any persons who had lost their rights or goods by reason of the investiture quarrel, should have them restored to them intact.[2]

"Hence we appealed to Henry, bishop of Verdun, to restore to us the rights which had been granted us by his predecessors, and confirmed by decrees of Popes and emperors, but which had been lost during the days of strife. This, though calling himself an obedient son of the

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 174.

[2] "Constitutum est ut expoliatæ ecclesiæ vel omnes qui tempore seditionis occasione illius discordiæ jura sua et possessiones illibata reciperent." Ep. 53 inter. epp. Hon.

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Roman Church, he has refused to do. Compelled to appeal to Rome, Pope Honorius took our part, and ordered the bishop to restore what he had taken. So far from doing this, he has even deprived us of more. . . . In this extremity . . . for now we have scarcely bread . . . we turn to you for justice."

Election of Lothaire at Mainz, 1125.

Knowing, then, what we do of the character of Henry, and considering that there were the inheritance of Matilda and the provisions of the concordat of Worms to quarrel about, it is not difficult to forecast what a harassed reign Honorius would have had if Henry had lived. But, as we have said, he died on May 23, 1125, and, as he was childless, the great Franconian line came to a close with him. It was the wish of Henry that his nephew, Frederick of Hohenstaufen, duke of Swabia, should succeed him. But the house of Franconia had "in the last two reigns worn out the affection and patience of the Germans."[1] Hence in the summons to the diet which was to elect a successor to the late emperor, Adalbert, archbishop of Mainz, and archchancellor of the empire, and the other nobles who issued it, bade the electors consider "the oppression under which the Church and the whole empire had been suffering," and to see to it that, in electing a successor, they should choose one who would free the Church and State from "the heavy yoke of servitude" under which they had been labouring, so that all might live in peace under the laws.[2]

There were present at the diet, besides the legates[3] of the

[1] Stubbs, *l.c.*, p. 185.

[2] Ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 396 f. The particulars of this election have been put on record by an anonymous cleric, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii., p. 509 ff., or ap. Doeberl, *Mon. Germ. Select*, part iv. p. 2 ff. A full account of it, with the authorities, is given in Richter, *Annalen der Salier*, p. 640 ff.

[3] Cardinals Gerard (afterwards Lucius II.) and Romanus. *Cf.* Anselm of Gemblours, *Chron.*, 1125.

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Pope, and the great clerical and lay nobles of the empire, some sixty thousand fighting men. The arrogance of Frederick, who came "to be elected but not to elect," combined with the opposition to him of Adalbert, and the persuasion of the papal legate Gerard, was the chief reason why the votes of the assembly ultimately fell upon Lothaire of Supplinburg, duke of Saxony. With the cry of "Let Lothaire be our king," the nobles raised him aloft on their shoulders, and, despite his reluctance, saluted him as emperor. After the newly elect had formally agreed to respect the rights of the Church and of the people,[1] he received from the clergy, not homage, but a promise of fidelity, and from the laity, including Frederick himself, the customary homage.[2]

It is confirmed by the Pope.

Cardinal Gerard (afterwards Lucius II.) and two bishops were then sent to Rome to obtain the Pope's confirmation of the election.[3] This was duly granted by Honorius, and Lothaire was at the same time invited by the same cardinal-priest to come to Rome "to receive the plenitude of the imperial dignity" (*c.* July 1126).[4]

Conrad of Hohenstaufen an anti-king, 1127.

But foreign and domestic wars prevented Lothaire from immediately availing himself of the invitation of the Pope, or of that of the Roman people, which came later. At first wars in Bohemia kept him occupied in the north, and then the rebellion of the Hohenstaufen brothers, Frederick and Conrad, duke of Franconia. The latter was proclaimed king by some malcontents at Spires (December 1127),

[1] "Habeat ecclesia libertatem . . . habeat et regnum justam in omnibus potestatem." *Narratio*, c. 6.

[2] "Ab episcopis : . . et abbatibus . . . fidelitatem non indebitam de more suscepit ; a nullo tamen spiritualium, ut moris erat, hominium vel accepit vel coegit." *Ib.*, c. 7.

[3] "Legati pro confirmando rege Romam mittuntur, Gerhardus cardinalis, Cameracensis et Virdunensis episcopi." *Ann. S. Disibod.*, 1126, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. *Cf.* ep. Innocent II., ap. Jaffé, *l.c.*, p. 427 f.

[4] Ep. Inn.

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crossed the Alps, and was crowned at Monza by Anselm, archbishop of Milan (1128). His attempt, however, was not destined to be successful. The Church both in Italy and Germany opposed him. In Italy, Cardinal John of Crema called together at Pavia the suffragans of Milan, and urged them to excommunicate their archbishop for his conduct.[1] They obeyed and wrote to inform Lothaire that Conrad, "the Milanese idol," was universally discredited, and that various cities of Italy were eagerly longing for his appearance among them[2] (1129). Strange to say, the Romans also remained loyal to Lothaire, and their "consuls and other princes" wrote to tell him that they were constant in their fidelity to Pope Honorius (*in servitio et fidelitate D. P. Honorii persistimus*), and loved what was pleasing to him. Accordingly, in view of the great affection which they knew the Pope had for him, and in view of the rebellion of Conrad, they entreated him to come to Rome forthwith, and "to receive from the Pope the plenitude of dignity and the honour of empire."[3]

If, then, the greater part of Italy remained loyal to Lothaire, so did most of Germany. Its great archbishops had promptly excommunicated the Hohenstaufen brothers,[4] and their action was confirmed by the Pope in a synod which he held in Rome at Easter (April 22, 1128).[5] Though

[1] Landulf jun., *Hist. Med.*, c. 39, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v. 511. "Sed fortis manus Honorii P. ipsum (Conradum) resupinavit, atque ad Germaniam . . . redire fecit."

[2] *Cf.* ep. Litifred, bishop of Novara, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Bamberg.*, p. 416.

[3] Ep. ap. Jaffé, *ib.*, p. 415.

[4] *Cf.* the letter of Adalbert of Mainz to Otho of Bamberg, which is the 111th among those of Honorius.

[5] "Conradum falso nomine regem et Fredericum, fratrem illius, cum suis complicibus in paschali die extinctis luminibus dampnat et excommunicat." *Ann. Saxo*, an. 1128. *Cf. Ann. Magdeburg.*, 1128; *Ann. Patherbr.*, *ib.* He also ordered Meginherus, whom he had just consecrated archbishop of Trier, to publish the excommunication on his

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it was not till 1135 that the rebellious brothers finally submitted to Lothaire, their revolt did not seriously disturb the empire, and its chroniclers could with some justice write large at the beginning of their entries for the year 1126, "Here begin the years of peace."[1] There was, however, war enough to prevent Lothaire from coming to Rome, so that Honorius had not the gratification of crowning the prince whom his influence had so substantially helped to place upon the throne, and to keep there. But if it was not till 1133 that Lothaire received the imperial crown at Rome, he showed himself throughout all his reign "a faithful son of the Church, and a faithful patron of the Saxons, the two influences that placed him on the throne."[2]

Honorius formally confirms the Premonstratensian Order, 1126.

The fact that St. Norbert was a subject of the empire, and became one of the most trusted counsellors of Lothaire, must be our excuse for finding a place here to say something more about him.[3] Though he had received from Gelasius II. and Calixtus II. permission to preach wherever he wished, and a general approval had been given of the order he had founded at Prémontré in the midst of the forest of Coucy, near Rheims, he was anxious for its formal sanction by Rome. As the rule he gave his monks was in substance that of St. Augustine, his order was rather a revival of an old institution than the establishment of a new one. Its object was "to combine the active and the contemplative life, the duties of canons with those of monks, and the care of souls with the pursuit of learning." To obtain the end he had in view Norbert set out for Rome in the very

return to his diocese, which he duly did. (*Cf. Gesta Trevirorum*, c. 27, ap. *P. L.*, t. 154). His action cost him his liberty; for, when returning to Rome in the following year (1129), he was seized by the usurper Conrad, and imprisoned in Parma, where he died, 1130. *Ib.*, c. 28.

[1] *Ann. Saxo.* "Incipiunt anni pacifici."

[2] Stubbs, *Germany*, p. 184.

[3] *Cf. supra*, 158.

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beginning of the year 1126. Honourably received by Pope Honorius,[1] he obtained from him the confirmation he desired. A bull was issued which expressed approval of his rule,[2] granted its followers many immunities from episcopal jurisdiction, and forbade any interference with their goods, which were to be left undisturbed "for the benefit of the brethren of the order and of the poor."[3]

It is not the province of a biographer of the Popes to tell of the extraordinary impulse which, at the close of the eleventh century, and at the beginning of the twelfth, urged so many men of position to abandon the joys and activity of the world for the austerities and repose of a monastery, and caused such a wonderful development of religious orders, like the Cistercian and Premonstratensian. But it may be noted with a great modern historian of the Ages of Faith that the moral courage required to embrace the restrictions of the religious life was such that it can scarcely be comprehended by an age like ours, so effeminate and so devoted to material comforts. "We are convinced," he says, "that this zeal for the severe discipline of the monastery could only have been brought about by a burning desire for the joys of heaven, painted in such glowing colours by the lively faith of this believing generation."[4] Whatever be our attitude towards monasticism,

[1] *Cf. vita Norberti*, cc. 12 and 13, ap. *P. L.*, t. 170. It was the work of an anonymous contemporary monk of the new order. *Cf.* the Premonstratensian continuator of the chronicle of Sigebert of Gemblours, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160, p. 366.

[2] "Propositum vestrum Sedis apostolicæ auctoritate confirmamus, et firmos vos in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum in eo persistere adhortamur."

[3] Ep. 90, February 17, 1126. *Cf.* ep. 92. "Omnia integra conserventur, regularium fratrum et pauperum usibus profutura." See Madelaine, *Vie de S. Norbert*, l. ii. c. 10.

[4] Hurter, *Tableau des institutions au moyen âge*, ii. c. 18, "De l'ordre des Prémontrés." *Cf.* Liverani, iii. c. 9.

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its profound moral effect on this age cannot be doubted; and those who had not the opportunity or the courage to join its ranks considered themselves bound, for their soul's sake, to help it onwards. Kings and nobles founded monasteries and nunneries everywhere, and Popes[1] blessed and protected the monks and nuns who filled them.

[1] Ep. Hon., 185, an. 1129.

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CHAPTER III.

ITALY AND THE NORMANS.

Papal expeditions against the barons of the Campagna, 1125–1127.

ALTHOUGH Honorius had no difficulty, perhaps with the aid of the Frangipani, in maintaining order among the nobles in Rome, the same cannot be said about the nobles of the Campagna. From their well-nigh inaccessible castles which crowned the crests of the hills, they were for ever engaged in despoiling the farmers of the plain, in molesting the peaceful traveller, the merchant or the pilgrim, and, generally, in setting the papal authority at defiance. At intervals during the first three years of his reign Honorius took the field against them with varying success.

In the spring of 1125 he brought to submission the lords of Ceccano by taking forcible possession of Trevi, Maenza, and S. Lorenzo, and by devoting to the flames Roccasecca, Giuliano, and others of their fastnesses.[1] Immediately afterwards he laid siege to the castle on the lofty, round, stony, isolated summit of Fumone, which dominates the whole country in the neighbourhood of Ferentino, Frosinone, and Alatri, commanding a view of some forty towns and villages. It was the hill whence the watch-fire gave the alarum of war to the whole country. "*Quando Fumo fumat, tota Campania tremet*—When the fire blazes on Fumone, the whole of Campania trembles" the people used to say; or, as Angelini well put it:—

"Allorchè fuma di Fumon la torre
Tuta Campagna trema e all' armi corre."[2]

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[1] *Ann. Ceccanenses*, 1125, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix. These annals formerly went by the name of *Chron. Fossæ Novæ.*

[2] Ricciotti, *Fumone e Celestino V.*, p. 10; Alatri, 1896.

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The stronghold of Fumone belonged to the Popes, but the nobles, to whom it had been leased, kept possession of it. Ascending the hill, the papal troops slowly rose above the slopes where the vines' dark, lank, and sinuous arms gripped each twisted branch of the smooth-barked elm, and where, still higher, the sombre olives cast their thin shade on the rocky soil, and at length they encamped in front of the small town which formed one large fortress, with its castello as a kind of citadel in its midst. After a blockade of ten weeks the place submitted (July).

"Moved by the wonted clemency of the Apostolic See," Honorius again granted its custody to the same family, after taking every precaution that they would never again claim to be its real owners.[1] Once master of this stronghold, Honorius transferred to it the antipope Gregory VIII. (Maurice Bourdin) from Janula, the fortress of Monte Cassino.[2] Towering aloft may still be seen the rocky castle where one Pope imprisoned an antipope,[3] and where Boni-

[1] Ep. 66, after July 1025.

[2] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 86. "Mauricium hæresiarcam de Janula, in qua eum P. Calixtus exiliaverat, abstrahens, apud Fumonem exilio relegavit (Honorius)."

[3] A modern inscription (1797) on a marble slab sets forth :—

"Nigratam arcis Fumonis famam
A Mauricio Burdino antipapa sæviente
In Gelasium II. Caietanum
Qui tandem misere catenatus
Hic mortuus et sepultus fuit
Anno MCCXXIV."

This I copied in December 1908. But according to the tradition of La Cava, near Salerno, Maurice was taken by Honorius to that monastery from Janula, and lived as a monk there till the days of Eugenius III. *Cf.* the MS. history of La Cava written by Abbot Ridolfi, p. 43 (*a tergo*). At any rate it is certain that he survived Honorius (*cf.* Jaffé, i. p. 822, and pp. 191 f. and 197); and there is no reason to doubt the positive assertion of a chronicle (*Chron. breve*—1243, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv.) that he died at La Cava. The holders of Monte Fumone were constantly breaking or renewing the fidelity they owed to the Holy See. *Cf. Liber Censuum*, ed. Fabre, i. 401, 452, 469 ff. and 560.

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face VIII. imprisoned St. Celestine V. after his abdication, lest he might be induced to become one. Honorius removed Maurice to Fumone[1] because he was not on good terms with Oderisius, the abbot of Monte Cassino, and not unnaturally feared to leave under his control one whom the abbot might use as a powerful weapon against him.

The quarrel between the Pope and the abbot of Monte Cassino.

Though somewhat petty, it may be well to tell the story of the quarrel between Honorius and Oderisius, as it shows what an amount of independence was affected by some of the great abbots of Christendom. The ill-feeling between the two began when Honorius was still Cardinal Lambert. He had asked the abbot to allow him and his suite the right to lodge at S. Maria in Pallaria on the Palatine, as his predecessor in the See of Ostia had been allowed to do. Oderisius, however, fearing that a precedent might be thus created, and that the abbey might eventually thus lose the Church altogether, refused to grant the desired permission.[2] No doubt the cardinal was not pleased with this rebuff, and the abbot, whom his modern biographer, himself a distinguished abbot of Monte Cassino, allows to have been wanting in prudence,[3] was impolitic enough to irritate him again when he was elected Pope. In want of money, Honorius on his election wrote to Oderisius to ask him for some pecuniary assistance, saying he would regard those as step-sons and not as true children who should refuse to help him in his great need. But this Oderisius denied him. He had had no share in his election, he said, and

[1] On St. Martin's Mount, between Fumone and Alatri, the people of the last-named place show a ruined building which is called "Casa del papa," because it is believed, likely enough on good grounds, to have given shelter to Honorius during the siege of Fumone. Liverani, iii. 520 n.

[2] Peter, *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 81.

[3] "Poco composta natura." Tosti, *Storia della Badia di Monte Cassino*, ii. 41.

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therefore ought not to be burdened with his difficulties. And in reference to the Pope's humble origin, he told his monks that he had not any knowledge whatever of his parentage, and indeed knew nothing else about him except that he was crammed full of literature.[1]

When, then, stories were brought to Honorius that Oderisius was more bent on aggrandising than sanctifying his monastery, it is likely that the Pope did not find them hard to believe. Accordingly, when he had safely removed the antipope Gregory from the control of Oderisius to his own castle of Fumone, he publicly denounced the abbot as being a soldier and not a monk, and as a squanderer of the goods of his abbey.[2] When, further, Adenulfus, count of Aquino, accused Oderisius to the Pope of aiming at the Papacy, Honorius had no difficulty in believing that there was some foundation in the charge, and summoned Oderisius to Rome to clear himself of it.[3] As the abbot, knowing the Pope's feelings towards him, thrice refused to answer the summons, Honorius declared him deposed from his office (Lent 1126). Listening to flattery, the misguided man set the sentence at naught, and continued to act as before. This act of contumacy brought down upon him a sentence of excommunication. At once many of the abbot's supporters fell away from him, especially the people of San Germano (Cassino). This was a dependency of the great abbey. It was situated on a small hill far below the monastery, and was grouped beneath its *rocca*, its old citadel of Janula (now in ruins), perched on a rugged limestone crag.

Election of Nicholas as successor to Oderisius.

In the course of the armed struggle which immediately ensued between Oderisius and the people of San Germano, the latter forced their way into the monastery, compelled

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 83. [2] *Ib.*, c. 86.

[3] *Ib.*, c. 88: "Adenulfus . . . eidem Pontifici litteras misit, æmulum Pontificii, et honoris Casinensem Abbatem inclamitans."

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the monks to declare Oderisius deposed, and to elect another abbot in his place. Accordingly, Nicholas, the dean (*decanus*) of the monastery, was chosen to fill his place. Some of the priors, however, not satisfied with his choice, secretly sent word to the Pope that the new election had not been held in accordance with the regulations of canon law. "Not understanding," says the deacon Peter, "that Nicholas was actually elected," Honorius sent Cardinal Gregory to the abbey with instructions to secure the election of Seniorectus, the provost of the monastery at Capua, as he was a man in every way likely to restore the prosperity of the abbey, both spiritually and temporally.[1]

This action of the Pope was bitterly resented by the monks. Their monastery was "free," they said, and was not to be subjected to cardinals. Undisturbed by the tumult his mission had raised, Gregory asked the monks "what church or abbey was free from the yoke of the Roman See, seeing that at its will heaven itself was bound and loosed?" Whereupon, after the cardinal had succinctly unfolded the relations of the great abbey to Rome, the monks satisfied themselves with promising to embrace the first favourable opportunity of complying with the will of the Pope.

War between the two abbots.

Meanwhile, open war was waged between the two abbots. To make headway against his rival, Nicholas disposed of the treasures of the abbey, and thereby of course incurred the hatred of the monks. The whole domain of the abbey was rent with strife, and its neighbours took advantage of the confusion to seize part of it. Hope of peace, however, dawned at last. Oderisius resigned his pretensions;[2] and when Honorius excommunicated Nicholas, and assured the monks that he only had their interests in view, they expelled their late abbot, and begged the Pope to send a

[1] *Chron. Cas.*, *ib.*, c. 89. [2] *Ib.*, c. 92.

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legate to put a term to their troubles. Honorius therefore sent them Matthew, cardinal-bishop of Albano,[1] who at length secured the peaceable election of Seniorectus (1127).[2] A little later (*c.* September), as Honorius was on his way to Benevento to deal with the usurpation of Roger of Sicily, he himself installed Seniorectus as abbot. But when he wished him to take the oath of fidelity which vassals were wont to take to their overlord, in order that the abbey might not take the part of Roger, the monks objected to his taking it. They pretended to think that there was question of faith and not of loyalty, and asserted that it was right for others to take that oath, but not for them, as they had never been heretical, and never held opinions opposed to those of the Apostolic See.[3] How far Honorius was justified in demanding an oath of fidelity from the monks was shown by the sequel. Oderisius and the monks of Monte Cassino stood by the antipope Anacletus and Roger of Sicily against Innocent II.

The story of Honorius and Abbot Oderisius has been narrated as it appears in the pages of Peter, a monk of Monte Cassino. There does not seem to be any other contemporary source by which it can be controlled. Knowing this, the reader will perhaps himself be able to see what praise or blame should be meted out to the Pope and to the abbot.

In passing backwards and forwards between Rome and Monte Cassino, Honorius must every time have gazed on

Capture of Segni, 1126–1128.

[1] A biography of this distinguished cardinal will be found, ap. *Mélanges d'hist. bénédictine*, by Dom Berlière ; Abbaye de Maredsous, 1902.

[2] *Chron. Cas.*, iv. 94.

[3] *Ib.*, c. 95. "Casinensis vero Ecclesia numquam in hæresim decidit, numquam contra Sedem Apostolicam sensit." It is the abbot Tosti himself (*l.c.*, p. 55) who calls attention to the want of straightforwardness on the part of the monks.

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the high hill on which stood the strong city of Segni, and have reflected that, like many another place which ought to have been subject to his authority, it was under the power of a petty baron. At length he found time to lay siege to it. Its tyrant was slain, and "it returned under the sway of Blessed Peter,"[1] thus verifying the prophecy which St. Bruno of Segni is said to have uttered on his death-bed (†1123). It was to the effect that his episcopal city would soon be set free from the tyrants, never again to fall under their yoke.[2] Though generally successful in these small wars which he had to undertake, Honorius was not uniformly fortunate, and we read of his returning to Rome after the loss of many of his men, and covered with the discredit of a failure before Arpino—or Supino, according to one manuscript reading.[3]

Roger of Sicily.

But military operations in south Italy on a much larger scale were soon to demand the attention of the Pope. Roger, the brother of Robert Guiscard, and the youngest of the sons of Tancred de Hauteville,[4] had, with the aid of his famous brother, invaded Sicily (1061), rent it from the Saracens, and become its "Great Count." Roger I. died in 1101, and left Sicily to his child, Roger II., who was to become king of Sicily and Apulia. On the death of his childless cousin, William I., grandson of Robert Guiscard and duke of Apulia and Calabria (1127), Roger sailed to Italy to establish his claim to his territories.

From the words of Alexander of Telese,[5] it appears that Roger claimed Apulia on the ground that his cousin, if he did not live to draw up a formal document to that effect, had, as a matter of fact, constituted him his heir. Walter,

[1] *Ann. Cecc.*, 1126; Boso.
[2] *Vit. S. Brunon.*, c. 13, ap. *P. L.*, t. 164.
[3] *Ann. Cecc.*, 1127.
[4] *Cf. supra*, vi. 243.
[5] *De gest. Reg.*, i. 4, 5. *Cf.* Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, 1123, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii. p. 184.

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archdeacon of Thérouanne, on the other hand, professing to speak from information received from the Pope himself, assures us[1] that William had left all his possessions to the Holy See. However, as far as the rights of Honorius II. over Apulia are concerned, it is matterless which of these historians is correct. William was his vassal, and had been duly invested with his duchy by him (September 1125).[2] Hence by ordinary feudal law, as William died intestate, his fief reverted to the Pope.[3]

Misfortunes, it is said, never come singly; and it was after his reverse at Arpino that Honorius heard that Roger had landed in Italy with the intention of taking forcible possession of the duchy of Apulia. The Pope made haste to reach Benevento, the more so because he had heard that at least the Norman party there had begun to enter into negotiations with Roger. The count overran the duchy with great rapidity, and sent Honorius many valuable presents, begging him to invest him with the duchy, and promising him Troia and Monte Fusco in return.[4] So far, however, from listening to the repeatedly urged request of Roger, Honorius, no doubt dreading to have an all-powerful Norman neighbour, solemnly declared him excommunicated if he persisted in his attempt.[5] Many of the barons of Apulia, who, under the easy rule of Duke William, had been able to live as they listed, and now feared to be brought to order by Roger, rallied round the

Sails to Italy to take the duchy of Apulia, 1127.

[1] *In vit. Caroli, comitis Flandriæ*, c. 4, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xii., or *P. L.*, 166. "Quidquid mobilium vel immobilium in terra possidere videbatur (William), b. app. principi Petro, ejusque vicario . . . Honorio, ex cujus ore sacro *frequenter* audivi, jure perpetuo possidendum delegavit."

[2] Romuald, *l.c.*, an. 1126. Honorius "Ducem Guilielmum II., . . . per vexillum de Ducatu Apuliæ investivit, et ab eo ligium hominium, et juramentum accepit."

[3] *Ib.*, an. 1127. "Cujus (the Duchy of Apulia) investitura et dominium sibi prædecessorum suorum jure legitimo pertinebat."

[4] Falco, an. 1127, p. 1195, in *P. L.*, t. 173. [5] Alex. T., i. 8, 9.

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Pope. The excommunication of the count of Sicily was renewed at Troia (November), and both sides prepared for war. Roger, ordering his allies to harass Benevento unceasingly, betook himself to Sicily, while the Pope endeavoured to strengthen his hands by an alliance with the new prince of Capua.[1]

Preparations for war.

Jordan II. of Capua died on December 19, and was succeeded by his son Robert. He was solemnly anointed in presence of the Pope (December 30), who, taking advantage of the great gathering of bishops and barons which the occasion brought together, exhorted them to united action against the ambitious Roger.[2] The harangue of Honorius evoked the greatest enthusiasm. The new prince of Capua immediately offered to devote himself and the principality which the Pope had just granted him to the service of the Roman Church.[3] Still further to encourage his allies, Honorius granted a plenary indulgence to all who, truly contrite, should lose their lives in the struggle against Roger, and a partial indulgence to all who, after confessing their sins, should take part in it.[4]

[1] Alex., i. 10, 11; Falco, *l.c.*, p. 1196.

[2] See his speech in Falco, p. 1197. During the course of this quarrel between Roger and the Pope, both of them granted many privileges to various cities to gain their support. Honorius, for instance, granted Troia what was practically a charter of *commune*. This was a very common origin of the great *communes* which came into being in this century in Italy. *Cf.* Chalandon, *Hist. de la domin. Normande en Italie*, i. 390. The reader will find a very full account of all these transactions in Chalandon.

[3] "En, Pater venerabilis, et personam quam aspicis, et totius principatus mei, quem tradidisti, virtutem tuæ committo ditioni, et ad tuum imperium omnia subjacebunt." Falco, p. 1199.

[4] "Ex auctoritate divina et B. M. V., et SS. App. meritis talem eis impendit retributionem; eorum videlicet, qui delictorum suorum pœnitentiam sumpserint, si in expeditione illa morientur, peccata universa remisit; illorum autem, qui ibi mortui non fuerint, et confessi sunt, medietatem donavit." *Ib.*

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Though excommunicated for refusing to allow the bishops of Sicily to go to Rome, and, as we have seen, for assuming the title of duke of Apulia without the approval of its suzerain the Pope,[1] Roger's arms and *Fabian* policy were attended with complete success after he re-entered Italy in May 1128. At length the armies of the Pope and of Roger came in touch with each other on the banks of the Bradano. The count, however, would not give battle, but kept to the mountains. He trusted that, given a little time, the July sun and internal dissensions would cause the heterogeneous army of the Pope to fall to pieces.[2] Helped, too, by the fortune of war, his anticipations were realised. The commissariat of the papal army was not equal to the demands made upon it, and at once some of the allies began to desert to Roger.[3]

Success of Roger, 1128.

Fearing lest he should be abandoned by all, Honorius followed the bad example which had been set by some of the most important of his allies, and began to consult for his own advantage. He sent secretly to Roger, and agreed to invest him with the duchy of Apulia, if he would follow him to Benevento, whither he promptly retired. The count followed him, and, after a few days' negotiation, during which Honorius safeguarded the interests of the prince of Capua, who had been the first to abandon him, met the Pope at the bridge (Pons Major) which crosses the river Sabbato near Benevento. There, after sunset, in the presence of some twenty thousand men, Honorius presented Roger with a standard, thereby formally investing him with the duchy of Apulia, and received from the new duke the usual feudal oath of fidelity (August 22,

He is invested with the duchy of Apulia.

[1] Romuald, an. 1127. [2] *Ib.*

[3] "Set cum barones ipsi ceperint fraudulenter agere cum ipso papa et in adversam partem divertere," etc. Boso. *Cf.* Romuald, Falco, and Alexander T., i. 14. The last-named attributes Roger's disinclination to fight to his reverence for the person of the Pope.

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1128).[1] By this act of the Pope in sanctioning that union of Sicily with part of the peninsula whence was soon to spring the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, an enormous boon was conferred on south Italy. It was henceforth to be subject to one ruler, and not to continue to be rent in pieces by a dozen.

Troubles at Benevento.

After peace had been thus concluded, Honorius set out for Rome. He had not arrived there before news reached him that a faction of the people of Benevento had risen, massacred his governor (*rector*), destroyed the houses of other officials, and formed a commune.[2] Full of indignation, the Pope declared he would exact full vengeance for the misdeeds of the city wherein he had spent so much of his time. Alarmed at the Pontiff's just anger, the townsfolk sent to assure him that the outrages had been the work of foolish and wicked men, and to beg him to grant them peace and send them a suitable governor. Cardinal Gerard was accordingly dispatched to rule the city.

Next year (1129) Honorius once more visited Benevento. But, as he could not induce its citizens to receive back those who had been banished in the late disturbance, he went to Roger, engaged him to punish the city in the following May (1130), and meanwhile gave orders for it to be harassed.[3] Honorius, however, did not live till the following May, and the schism which took place after his death saved the Beneventans from the condign punishment they deserved.

The Pope must have been glad, one would think, to leave Benevento. From first to last it had brought him trouble. When he visited it at the beginning of his

[1] Falco, p. 1201. *Cf.* Romuald, *l.c.*, "Cui (Honorius) ligium hominium fecit (Roger), et juramentum præstitit." Alexander and Boso speak to the same effect.

[2] Falco, *l.c.* "Communitate intra se ordinata."

[3] Still Falco, *l.c.*

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pontificate (1125), it had been shaken by a terrible earthquake. Its first shock was felt at night, and Falco tells us how the Pope left his palace, and in tears, prostrate on the ground before the altar of our Saviour in the basilica of St. John, implored the divine mercy. Shocks were felt for no less than fifteen days in succession, and the terrified people, followed by the Pope and cardinals in bare feet, went in procession to the churches, singing litanies and calling on God for protection.[1] Swaying[2] with earthquakes and with the passions of its people, Benevento was not a pleasant place for a peaceful person to dwell in during the twelfth century.

Genoa, Pisa, and Corsica.

Before turning to the intercourse of Honorius with some of the great men of France, we may say a word or two about his dealings with another part of Italy, viz., with the great maritime cities of Genoa and Pisa. Unfortunately, these two naval powers, ever jealous of one another, were perpetually at war with each other. One bone of contention between them was the ecclesiastical primacy of the isle of Corsica. This had been granted to the Pisans by Urban II., and confirmed to them by his two immediate successors. But on account of the bad blood which this privilege caused between the Pisans and the Genoese, Calixtus II. took away the primacy from the Pisans and placed the island under the immediate jurisdiction of the Apostolic See.[3] Though this action of Calixtus took away one cause of quarrel between the two cities, it did not make them live in peace. It was to no purpose that Honorius sent letters and legates to try and make them

[1] Falco, an. 1125, p. 1192.

[2] Speaking as an eye-witness, Falco (*ib.*) says of one of the shocks: "Quod si, lector, adesses, oculata fide universa civitatis ædificia tremere et palpitare videres."

[3] *Cf.* ep. Calixt., 208, ap. Robert, *Bull. Calixt.*, i. 301, and ep. 389, ii. 177.

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act in harmony with each other. Seeing, then, that his exertions were thrown away,[1] and that the Pisans were clamouring for the privilege that had been duly conferred upon them, Honorius, after careful examination of the facts of the case, decided to restore the primacy of Corsica to the Pisans, on the ground that a privilege which had been so solemnly conferred upon them ought not to be taken away, unless it had been manifestly abused.[2]

[1] "Nos autem utrosque ad pacem faciendam diligenter monuimus, sed pacem ab eis prece vel monitis impetrare nequivimus." Ep. 107, July 21, 1126.

[2] *Ib.* *Cf. supra* under Gelasius II.

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CHAPTER IV.

HONORIUS AND SOME OF THE GREAT ONES OF FRANCE.

A NAME not unfrequently to be met with in the preceding pages of this work is that of Pontius, abbot of Cluny. Of noble birth and of great promise, he was elected while still young to succeed the famous abbot Hugh in the government of the abbey of Cluny. He took part in many of the important affairs of his age, and soon became one of its best-known men. But mixing with secular princes led him to imitate their ways. His pomp was equal to theirs, and his imperiousness no less. The temporal interests of the monastery were sacrificed to his ambitions, and its spiritual concerns were neglected.[1] An anecdote told of him by Geoffrey, prior of Vossium (Vigeois),[2] in his excellent chronicle,[3] may be at least so far relied on as to show how high the abbot of Cluny aspired.

The fall of the abbot Pontius.

Whilst Gelasius II. lay dying at Cluny, he fixed his eyes steadily on its abbot, who stood by his side. Asked by Pontius why he did so, he replied, "Because I see you dying on papal territory." He was indeed to die in Rome as a prisoner, but he at once conceived the thought

[1] *Cf.* Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis*, ii. 12, ap. *P. L.*, t. 189.

[2] In the department of Corrèze.

[3] Ap. *M. G. SS.*, t. xxvi. Geoffrey died after 1184, to which date he brought his chronicle. *Chron. Gaufredi*, n. 42, p. 200. Pontus "in papatu mortuus est non ut præsul Romanus, immo captivus et peregrinus." The chronicler goes on to say that Calixtus pardoned his opposition to him.

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of being Pope. This vain hope led him to offer a useless opposition to the election of Calixtus II.

Meanwhile the discontent of the monks at the lordly and extravagant ways of their abbot was steadily growing. They sent their complaints to Rome. Grievously hurt in his self-esteem, Pontius went himself to Calixtus, and would hear of nothing but that his resignation should be accepted. The Pope at length consented to meet his wishes, and permitted him to go to Palestine, where he proposed to end his days (1122).[1]

He seizes Cluny with violence.

But in three years he was back again in France, distinctly a worse man than when he left it. Want of power seems only to have strengthened the desire of it in his heart, and the flattery of some of his companions, who, regarding him, or pretending to regard him, as a saint, told the most wonderful stories of his miraculous deeds, completely upset the balance of a mind already unduly weighted with ambition. Collecting together any disorderly monks he could find, and a number of armed men, mingled with whom are said to have been a number of dissolute women, he burst into the abbey of Cluny during the absence of its abbot, Peter the Venerable (1125). Melting down the treasures of the monastery, he thus found money to give to his gang of ruffians,[2] and to carry on the work of compelling the dependencies of the abbey to recognise his authority.

It was not long before news of such outrageous proceedings reached Rome from many sources. Honorius at once dispatched the cardinal-deacon Peter of S. Maria in Via Lata as his legate to investigate the affair on the

[1] *Cf.* ep. Honor., 109, October 20, 1126. "Qui (Pontius) Cluniacensem abbatiam in manu prædecessoris nostri . . . sine spe recuperationis refutaverat, et se perpetuo Jerosolymis victurum voto astrinxerat." *Cf. De miraculis, ubi supra.*

[2] Ep. Hon., 109. "Thesaurum monasterii, qui ex voto fidelium ad pauperum usus . . . fuerat destinatus, diripuit," etc.

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spot. He then excommunicated Pontius, denounced him to the whole of France, and summoned him to Rome.[1] Peter the Venerable was summoned thither at the same time, and duly presented himself before the Pope (September 1126).

His death, 1126.

But it was only after he had been solemnly condemned in France that Pontius obeyed the papal summons to Rome. He came, however, thoroughly hardened in his iniquity, and, after his case had been carefully investigated, he was imprisoned in the tower of the Septizonium. There, not long after, he died, as he had lived, impenitent. Though he died under sentence of excommunication, Honorius, out of respect for the great monastery of Cluny, caused him to be buried honourably in the monastery of St. Andrew's on the Celian (December 1126).[2]

S. Bernard of Clairvaux.

Meanwhile Peter the Venerable, reinvested with the emblems of his dignity by the Pope, had returned to Cluny with "apostolical letters which enjoined the monks to pay full obedience to him according to the order of St. Benedict. The commands of the Pope were obeyed, and Abbot Peter, triumphant in the issue of his appeal, was well received by the monks, who, says Ordericus Vitalis, have submitted to his government to the present time, laudably combating for the divine law."[3]

A very different man to the unhappy abbot Pontius was

[1] Epp. 100–106, 109, 120.

[2] "Quamvis de malis Cluniaco illatis sæpe commonitus pœnitentiam agere noluerit, nos tamen pro reverentia ejusdem monasterii . . . eum honeste sepeliri fecimus." Ep. 120. The account which Ordericus Vitalis gives of the doings of Pontius must be checked by that of Peter of Poitiers, the secretary of Peter the Venerable (*Panegyricus*, p. 52 ff., ap. *P. L.*, t. 189), as well as by the other authorities already cited. It was the "Romanus ille pestifer morbus" which carried off Pontius. *Cf.* Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis*, ii. 13.

[3] Ordericus, *H. E.*, xii. 30. *Cf.* the very interesting biography of Demimuid, *Pierre le Vénérable*, p. 39 ff., Paris, 1876.

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Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux. Both were of noble blood, both were famous in their generation, and both were much in the eye of the world; but while pride and the wish to be seen figuring in lofty stations caused the fall of the one, humility and a disinclination to appear in public were the safeguard of the other. It may be that it was in connection with this very affair of Pontius that the cardinal-deacon Peter had requested Bernard to join him, and that the abbot had replied to him in these terms: "That I have not come to you as you commanded has been caused not by my sloth, but by a graver reason. It is that, if you will permit me to say so with all the respect which is due to you and all good men, I have taken a resolution not again to go out of my monastery, unless for precise causes; and I see at present nothing of that kind which would permit me to carry out your wish and gratify my own by coming to you."[1]

Honorius and Louis VI., the Fat, king of France.

Passing over the first communications[2] of St. Bernard with Honorius, to the effect that the election of Alberic to the See of Châlons might be confirmed, and that the monks of Dijon might be supported by him, we may discuss the saint's relations with the bishop of Paris and the king of France. His example and his exhortations to a more earnest life were having their effect in the very highest quarters. Among those who were thus influenced by St. Bernard was Stephen, bishop of Paris (1124–1144). He left the king's court, and devoted himself to the cure of souls and to working for the liberty of the Church. His change of conduct brought on him the displeasure of the king. The goods of his church were arbitrarily confiscated, and he was exposed to much annoyance. But he had firm friends in the monks of Citeaux. Headed by the

[1] Ep. 17. *Cf.* ep. 48, etc. Epp. 15 and 18 are to the same cardinal.
[2] Epp. 13 and 14.

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English abbot, Stephen Harding, they wrote to the king, declaring that they would be compelled to have recourse to the authority of the Pope, if he did not desist from his persecution of the bishop.[1] Next, the bishops of Stephen's province, with Henry, archbishop of Sens, at their head, contemplated extending the interdict which he had already laid on his diocese of Paris.[2] The last measure would by itself have proved effective in bringing Louis to a sense of justice, had he not contrived by negotiations at Rome to induce Honorius to suspend the operation of the interdict.[3] Indignation at this act of the Pope was general. St. Bernard wrote to him and to his chancellor Haimeric, both in his own name and in that of others. "In the time of Honorius," he wrote to the Pope himself, "the honour of the Church has been deeply wounded. Already the humility, or rather the constancy, of the bishops had bent down the anger of the king, when the supreme authority of the supreme Pontiff intervening, alas! threw down constancy and set up pride! We know, indeed, that that mandate must have been obtained from you by falsehood, as is quite evident from your letter, or you would not have ordered an interdict so just and so necessary to be put an end to. . . . That which astonishes us is that judgment should have been given without hearing the two parties."[4] And in a letter to the papal chancellor he boldly added: "Even although I shut myself up and keep silence, I do not suppose that the murmurs of the churches will cease,

[1] Ep. Bern., 45, an. 1127.

[2] Luchaire, *Annales de Louis VI.*, n. 427, an. 1128.

[3] *Ib.*, n. 439, an. 1129.

[4] Ep. B., 46. *Cf.* 47–51, an. 1127, or perhaps rather 1129, after Easter. During the course of the controversy, Honorius gave support to Stephen by declaring null any acts which the chapter of the Church of Paris might have done to the prejudice of their bishop. Ep. 187, March 2, 1128.

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if the Roman Curia continues to do injury to the absent in order to be complaisant to those who are near at hand."[1] The issue of the affair is anything but clear. It seems, however, that the Pope entrusted the examination of it to his legate Matthew, cardinal-bishop of Albano; that, acting on the advice of the bishop of Chartres, Stephen presented himself to the king, and that at length, after Honorius had passed away, "justice and peace kissed" (1130).[2]

Henry Sanglier, 1129.

Connected with the struggle of Stephen, bishop of Paris, against the king was that of his metropolitan, Henry Sanglier, archbishop of Sens. A charge of simony was trumped up against him by the king,[3] but as a matter of fact "the Capetian government persecuted him because he had joined the party of reform."[4] "The very men," wrote St. Bernard to the Pope in behalf of the archbishop, "who previously in secular life were honoured by the king, judged faithful, and regarded as familiar friends, are now treated as enemies, because they behave worthily in the priesthood and honour their ministry in all things. This is the cause of the insults and injuries with which the bishop of Paris, though innocent, has been attacked; yet he has not been crushed, because the Lord arrested the king's hands when he opposed yours. Hence also now he endeavours to weary and break down the constancy of the archbishop of Sens, so that when the metropolitan is vanquished (which may God forbid!) he may easily, as he supposes, prevail over all the suffragans."[5]

Fearing that Honorius would order the cause of the archbishop to be discussed "in the presence of the king," and acknowledging that "whatever he directed must be inviolably adhered to," St. Bernard implored the Pope

[1] Ep. B., 48.
[2] Luchaire, *l.c.*, n. 465; Vacandard, *S. Bernard*, i. 268 ff.
[3] Ep. B., 51. [4] Luchaire, *l.c.*, n. 448. [5] Ep. B., 49.

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that, if he were to decide on such a course, and if, in consequence, "this prelate should be crushed by the sovereign power (as it has happened only too often), he may be permitted to seek refuge in your fatherly bosom, because hitherto we have never heard that you have refused this refuge to a person oppressed."[1]

In some of these letters about the conduct of the king of France, the saint occasionally allowed his zeal for justice to obscure his judgment regarding the general character of Louis, and at times to outrun discretion. The king of France was not exactly a "Herod," though St. Bernard calls him such, and in the present instance he was not apparently guilty of any of the drastic modes of action of that "thorough" sovereign. At any rate, in 1136 the archbishop was still in possession of all his rights, and, such is the strange nature of many men, engaged in oppressing others, as he had himself been oppressed.[2]

The freedom of the Church meant the liberty of the citizen.

These struggles of Bishops Stephen and Henry against Louis of France are typical of the movement begun by Gregory VII., and destined to continue till the Church had won comparative liberty for herself and for the people. A prelate won to a life in accordance with his sacred character meant a champion gained for the cause of freedom. The charters wrung from absolute kings which declared the Church in a particular country "to be free," at the same time secured the rights of every inhabitant of that country. And the churchmen who fought and bled to wrest the freedom of the Church from the hands of arbitrary tyrants were really striving for the personal liberty of every citizen. At the time of which we are writing there was playing about the streets of London a little boy of twelve whose later heroic struggle for the rights of the Church in England not merely threw into

[1] Ep. B., 50. *Cf.* 51. [2] *Ib.*, 182. Vacandard, *l.c.*, p. 272 ff.

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the shade most of the similar contests waged by others, but rendered possible the putting into position of the key-stone of English freedom in the beginning of the following century. It was from the hot life's blood of Thomas Becket, freely poured forth on the pavement of his cathedral in defence of the liberties of the Church, that there sprang forth the Magna Carta of England.

Nor should it ever be forgotten that what encouraged churchmen to brave the swords which in these ages of violence were ever ready to spring from the scabbards of princes was the thought that "they could have recourse to the authority of the Pope." Rome it was which was at once their support and their restraint. The powerful voice of the Pope rang throughout Europe big with fate to the evil-doer, but in the sweet accents of hope to the oppressed; and his arm, which reached powerfully even to the lands in the frozen sea, was for ever employed not merely in repression and in punishment, but in helping forward and upward.

Hildebert of Lavardin.

Unfortunately, in continuing to treat of the relations between Honorius and the great ones of France, we have now in an increasing degree to face the difficulty we had to encounter in the cases of Stephen of Paris and Henry of Sens. Many documents of this period are like flash-lights. They show us persons and things in contact, but do not enable us to study the relations between them.

Towards the beginning of the year 1125 Hildebert of Lavardin, bishop of Le Mans, one of the distinguished churchmen who at this period gave lustre to the Church in France,[1] was "by permission of Pope Honorius translated to the metropolitan See of Tours" (1125).[2]

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 3.

[2] Ord. Vit., *H. E.*, 42. *Cf.* ep. Hild., ii. 34, "Cum ex præcepto Romani pontificis de episcopatu Cenomanensi ad Turonicam metropolim transissem," etc., ap. *P. L.*, t. 171, p. 257.

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Because he was a man of virtue and principle, he was soon in conflict with the king of France. Louis, though, according to a modern biographer of Hildebert,[1] he was "more intelligent than William Rufus, and not false like his successor, Henry I.," was nevertheless quite willing to follow their evil example when it suited him. Like them he was prone by violence to keep ecclesiastical positions vacant to enjoy their revenues, or, by the exertion of his kingly power, to fill them with his own creatures. He took the latter course with regard to certain vacancies in the diocese of Tours (1126). It was in vain that Hildebert tried by a personal interview to bring him to a sense of what was in accordance with law; it was also seemingly in vain that he implored the assistance of the Pope's legate, John of Crema, then on his way to England. While he continued to refuse to accept the king's nominees, he had to suffer loss of control over the revenues of his see, and to submit to his clergy's carrying appeals to the civil authority and not to himself. At length, but not till 1131, Hildebert contrived to make his peace with the king, by a considerable pecuniary sacrifice.[2] And yet this same Louis when king-elect (*rex designatus*), at the close of a quarrel he had had with certain canons, had laid down the principle that, without hindrance from him, the canons were to render obedience to the Pope of Rome as the successor of the apostles, and service to him as their king.[3] In dealing with Hildebert he had forgotten that not all things are Cæsar's. These disputes in different countries between bishops and kings as to their respective rights over the

[1] Dieudonné, *Hildebert de Lavardin*, p. 95.

[2] *Cf.* epp. Hild., ii. 33, 34, 38, 40; and Luchaire, *Annales*, Nos. 367, 400, and 473.

[3] "Concessimus etiam ut absque mala voluntate ex nostra parte Romano pape obedientes sint sicut apostolico, et mihi serviant sicut domino." See his charter ap. Luchaire, *l.c.*, No. 28. *Cf.* p. clxiv.

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revenues of the Church, and over ecclesiastical positions, serve at least to show how literally is it true that history repeats itself.

The council of Nantes, 1127 (?).

If Hildebert was in disfavour with his own sovereign, he was in honour with another. Anxious to effect various reforms in his duchy, Conan III., duke of Brittany, called together at Nantes a large assembly of his bishops and nobles. Despite the pretensions of the bishop of Dol to the primacy in Brittany, the presidency of the diet was entrusted to the true primate of the duchy, viz. to the archbishop of Tours. At this important gathering several disciplinary decrees were carried. Various barbarous or illegal customs were condemned, such as those which placed the goods and persons of the shipwrecked, or the goods of a deceased wife or husband, at the mercy of the lord of the manor. Incestuous marriages, and the marriages too of priests, were strictly prohibited. These much-needed acts of reform were sent to Rome by Hildebert, and duly received the Pope's confirmation.[1]

Honorius appealed to against the Breton rebel, Oliver of Pontchâteau, 1127.

The work of the diet was not finished at Nantes. One of Conan's vassals, Oliver of Pontchâteau, had succeeded in setting his suzerain at complete defiance. He had at last seized the famous monastery of Redon, and turned it into a fortress, whence he plundered the whole neighbourhood. Writing to the Pope, Conan, confessing his inability to restrain his vassals, begged him to retake the monastery under his direct protection, and, in order to strike terror

[1] Ep. Hon., 135. "Universitate ergo vestræ mandamus, quatenus ea quæ ab ipso (Hildebert) juxta sanctorum patrum decreta, ibi ad honorem Dei et salutem populi statuta esse noscuntur, irrefragabiliter observetis." Specially does he condemn the cruel treatment of the shipwrecked: "Iniquum enim censemus ut quem divinæ clementiæ magnitudo a sævientis pelagi voracitate diverterit, hominum sæva rapacitas audeat spoliare." *Cf.* ep. 134, which is the letter of Hildebert asking "quatenus acta canonice vestra confirmare dignetur auctoritas." *Cf.* epp. Hild., ii. 30, 35.

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into the brigands, to do this with great pomp by means of his legate Gerard, bishop of Angoulême, and Hildebert.

Acting on the Pope's instructions, the diet proceeded to the plain of Redon. The robber-baron submitted, and Hildebert removed the desecration of the monastic church by the solemn reconsecration of its high altar.[1]

Hildebert's protest against vexatious appeals to Rome.

If Hildebert's work for the reformation of his diocese was hindered by appeals to the king, it was also hampered by what he regarded as vexatious appeals to Rome. He accordingly wrote two letters to the Pope, which, though full of expressions of respect for the authority of Rome,[2] were strong protests against its ready reception of all kinds of appeals against episcopal authority. He knew, he said, it was his duty "to show respect to those in power by deeds of obedience, and not to aggravate them by words of insolence"; but at the same time he urged that it was not in accordance with either right reason or canon law that appeals of all kinds should be listened to at Rome. How was it possible, he asked, to force the blind and the lame to enter the kingdom of heaven (St. Luke xiv. 24), if the blind and the lame could always appeal? He acknowledged that, where there was question of violence, or of unfair trial or of other similar reasons, appeals to Rome were right and proper, but he begged the Pope to give no heed to appeals which were simply made to gain time,[3] and implored him to leave him free to exercise his episcopal power in his own diocese.[4] Whether Hildebert obtained

[1] "Reddo igitur vobis eam (the monastery) liberam." Ep. Conan., ap. Liverani, iv. 167. *Cf.* Dieudonné, *l.c.*, p. 98 f.

[2] *Cf.* his letter *c.* Jan., 1129, ap. epp. Hon., n. 201, to Honorius for his idea on the dignity of Rome, where he says: "Vel levis error ad judicium cedit, si Romam offendit."

[3] Ep. ii. 41. "Moratorias autem appellationes et superfluas omnino a vestra elongandas esse audientia." *Cf.* ep. Bernard, 47.

[4] Ep. ii. 47.

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any satisfaction from Honorius, or whether the Pope was able to show that the appeals in question were not simply vexatious, is not known.

The isles of Lerins.

Besides being a great bishop and poet, Hildebert was, for his age, a traveller. In the very beginning of the twelfth century (1101) he went to Rome, where he was well received by Pope Paschal II., and then made a journey through south Italy.[1]

From Cannes one can see in the roadstead of Toulon the low, dull isles of Lerins, "rocky and arid, surmounted here and there by a slender cluster of pines." One of them, the Ile St. Honorat, "has been for the soul, for the mind, for the moral progress of humanity, a centre purer and more fertile than any famous isle of the Hellenic Archipelago." Thither in the fifth century came Honoratus, a patrician and monk, and there founded a monastery which will render the name of Lerins for ever illustrious in the annals of Christendom; for it became "a celebrated school of theology and Christian philosophy, a citadel inaccessible to the waves of the barbarian invasion, an asylum for literature and science, which had fled from Italy, invaded by the Goths: in short, a nursery of bishops and saints, who were destined to spread over the whole of Gaul the knowledge of the gospel and the glory of Lerins." Hildebert, when sailing back from Italy, did not look at the isles of Lerins with indifference and strive to avoid them, as Montalembert, whom we have been quoting,[2] notes is the habit of most travellers. He put into the isle of St. Honorat to visit its great monastery. But his pious curiosity nearly cost him his life. On the very day that a favourable breeze had carried him safely away from the island to the then flourishing, but now deserted

[1] *Cf. Gesta epp. Cenoman.*, c. 35, ap. *P. L.*, t. 171, p. 93, and Dieudonné, pp. 22, 61.

[2] *Monks of the West*, i. 463 ff.

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Provençal harbour of Maguelonne, a fleet of barbarous Moorish pirates[1] swooped down upon the luckless isle of Blessed Honoratus (1101). Not for the first time in its long and chequered career was the monastery destroyed and most of the monks put to the edge of the sword. Some few of them, however, escaped by hiding themselves, or by taking refuge in a tower. Alongside the ruins of the church, baptistery, and other buildings of the old monastery still to be seen on the island is a donjon-tower, surrounded by a loop-holed wall. This is doubtless the castle spoken of by Hildebert, and hence is the place in which most of the monks who escaped from the Saracens found refuge.

Situated as they were "in front of the very jaws of the Saracens," the monks, unable to help themselves, turned to the common Father of Christendom. Honorius at once interested himself in their behalf, and in an encyclical addressed to all the faithful told of the sufferings which the Saracens had long been inflicting on the monks of Lerins and called on all to help them. To encourage men to go to their assistance, he offered them "the same remission of their sins as his predecessor had offered to those who went in arms to Jerusalem," on condition that "for the love of God and the good of their souls" they remained at their own expense to defend the monks for three months. Those who could not go themselves, but supported a soldier there for three months, were to receive an indulgence of three years with regard to those sins of which they had repented.[2]

[1] Hildebert, when writing of his fortunate escape (ep. iii. 7), calls them "barbaros piratas larvali forma deformes, ferina crudelitate hominem diffitentes, super omnia autem gaudentes nulla se cum Christianis habere consortia."

[2] Ep. 219, ap. Liverani, iv. 415. *Cf.* ep. 226. "Nos de peccatis suis, unde pœnitentiam cœperint, trium annorum veniam indulgemus." These two letters seem to have been first published by Gioffredo in his *Storia delle alpi marittime*, which has been inserted in the *Mon. hist. pat.*, *SS.*, t. ii. l. i. pp. 378–379; Torino, 1839.

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Fulk V., the younger, of Anjou, 1109–1143.

History also shows the names of Hildebert of Lavardin and Honorius II. connected with the doings of Fulk V., the younger, count of Anjou. Situated as were the domains of Fulk on the borders of territories over which Henry I. of England and Louis VI. of France respectively held sway, it behoved the Angevin to walk with great circumspection, and to ally himself with one or other of the great potentates who were as ready to attack him as each other. At first Fulk attached himself to Henry I., who, as duke of Normandy, was his northern neighbour, by giving his daughter, with the province of Maine as the principal part of her dowry, to William the Atheling, heir to the throne of England (1119). But by the wreck of the *White Ship* (November 25, 1120), Fulk's daughter lost her husband, and Fulk himself his daughter's dowry, which Henry refused to restore. Naturally indignant, Fulk now invested William, surnamed the Clito, son of Robert of Normandy, with Maine, and gave him in marriage his second daughter, Sibyl (1123). At the same time he promised the young man his help to recover the inheritance of his father.[1] As Henry had possessed himself of the dominions of his brother Robert, whom at this very time he was holding in confinement, he was not a little alarmed at this alliance, and immediately endeavoured to break it. He first attempted to get the marriage between William and Sibyl dissolved on the ground of the relationship between them. At this period marriages between those related even to the seventh degree were prohibited by the Church, and William and Sibyl were related in the sixth degree. It is true that the marriage between his own son, William the Atheling, and a sister of Sibyl had roused no scruple in Henry's conscience; but the Clito's marriage was opposed to his interests and

[1] Simeon of Durham, *Hist. Reg.*, an. 1123; Ordericus, *H. E.*, xii. 15, 34; xi. 37, etc.; William of Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, v., § 419.

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must be dissolved. According to Ordericus,[1] the English king began at once to employ skilful agents, and to scatter his money broadcast.

The affair was important, and Pope Calixtus sent to France to examine the case two most distinguished cardinals, Pierleone (Peter Leo), afterwards the antipope Anacletus, and Gregory, afterwards Innocent II. (1124). Received with the greatest honour by such bishops as Serlo of Séez, who would have all attention paid to them because they were the ambassadors of the Pope, "who, under God, is the father of all the faithful,"[2] they summoned a council to meet at Chartres (1124). Hildebert of Le Mans, who, as the most important bishop in the disputed province of Maine, felt himself in a most awkward position, was called upon to open the council, and did so with a sermon on the sacrament of matrimony.[3] But the violence displayed by the two parties at the council prevented the bishop from concluding his discourse, and caused the assembly to break up without accomplishing anything.

The abrupt termination of the council, however, meant the collapse of the case for the validity of the marriage; "for in the absence of reasons to the contrary the decrees of the canon law were final."[4] Another papal legate, John of Crema, declared the marriage null, and Pope Calixtus supported his decision[5] (1124). But the Clito would not

[1] *H. E.*, xi. 37.

[2] *H. E.*, xii. 35: Forester's trans. Ordericus gives to Serlo a most attractive character (*ib.*). His words about the papal envoys are: "Romanis servite . . . quia legationem D. Papæ, qui post Deum universalis pater est, deferunt, ipsique, qualescunque sint, magistri nostri sunt." In Migne's ed. of Ordericus (*P. L.*, t. 188) the reference is l. xii. c. 18.

[3] Ap. *P. L.*, t. 171, pp. 954–964. Hildebert speaks of the "sermonem quem in Carnotensi scriptum concilio terminari superveniens prohibuit causa."

[4] Dieudonné, p. 86.

[5] Ep. 507, ed. Robert, ii. 334.

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give up his bride; and his father-in-law, Fulk, seized the legate's messengers, who announced to him John's decision, singed their beards, and publicly burnt the cardinal's letter.[1] This truly Angevin violence brought from John a sentence of excommunication on its truculent perpetrator himself, and an interdict on his territories. Confirmation of this action by Honorius[2] vindicated the authority of the Church, and William was compelled to leave his bride and Anjou as well, and with fear and toil to seek the aid of strangers.[3]

Fulk becomes the ancestor of the Plantagenet kings of England.

But the chequered relations between Henry of England and Fulk of Anjou were not yet over. The cause of William the Clito being taken up by Louis of France, drove Henry to turn once more to Fulk. He offered to unite his daughter, the Empress Matilda, the childless widow of the Emperor Henry, to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Fulk's eldest son. "Regardless of his promise not to give his daughter in marriage to anyone out of the realm, regardless of the scorn of both Normans and English, of the empress's own reluctance, and also of the kindred between the houses of Normandy and Anjou,"[4] Henry carried out his purpose (1128), and succeeded in ultimately providing from his body an heir to the throne, and in adding Anjou

[1] "Uti accepimus . . . legati nuntios capiens . . . barbas eorum et capillos flammis exuere, et litteras in cospectu (sic) hominum sub dio cremare præsumsit (Falco)." Ep. Honor., 58, April 12, 1125.

[2] *Ib.* [3] Ordericus, *H. E.*, xi. 37.

[4] Miss Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, i. 243. This accomplished lady gives a most pleasing description of the marriage of Geoffrey and Matilda; but she does not seem to approve of the extension of canonical impediments of matrimony to the seventh degree of relationship. It is, however, certain that the less intermarrying there is between relatives, the better is it for the human race; but it is equally certain that it is not *necessary* to prevent persons so remotely related from marrying; and hence under Innocent III., 1216, the Fourth Lateran Council reduced the prohibition to the fourth collateral degree.

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and Maine to his Norman duchy. To Fulk, however, thus become the father of a new race of English kings, the marriage of his eldest son and heir to the heiress of England and Normandy meant loss of interest in his ancestral domains, and the same year (1128) that his son married, he accepted the hand of Melisenda, the heiress of Baldwin II., took the cross from Hildebert, now archbishop of Tours, and at length became king of Jerusalem.[1]

Abelard and Heloise.

Before the name of Honorius II. had been heard in Gaul, those of Abelard and Heloise had already become famous, if not notorious, throughout the land. However much what she herself called her "immoderate love" of her master, and her unbounded devotion to her lover are calculated to win for the misguided Heloise the indulgent compassion of loyal-hearted men, it would appear that too much sympathy is not uncommonly shown towards the cleric[2] who could abuse the advantages given him by his age[3] and position to attract the affections of his pupil, and then to seduce her; who could, while master of the whole heart of one of the truest of women, be all the while false to her;[4] and who was at one period perhaps the proudest and vainest man of his time, regarding himself as the only philosopher of his age worthy of the name.[5] It is true he was subtle, bright, and quick-witted; but he had no respect for authority, was not too profound, and was unable to

[1] *Cf. infra.*, p. 300, n. 1.

[2] He was not then in Holy Orders.

[3] Born in 1079, he was thirty-eight when he won (1117) Heloise, a girl of seventeen.

[4] *Cf.* C. de Rémusat, *Abélârd*, pp. 46 and 66. Rémusat, it may be noted, is anything but severe towards his hero. "Frena libidine cœpi laxare, qui antea vixerim constantissime." Ep. i. c. 5. This letter is also known as *Historia calamitatum Abælardi*. It is his *Confessions*.

[5] "Cum jam me solum in mundo superesse philosophum æstimarem." Ep. i. c. 5, ap. *P. L.*, t. 178, where most of the works of Abelard are to be found.

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make any progress in the exact sciences.[1] His great dialectic skill, and his natural intellectual pugnacity, however, which made him able and willing to unseat everyone of his professors, earned for him as great a name in the world of letters as was ever gained in the realm of war by the most skilled knight in the tilt-yard.[2]

But we are not here directly concerned with either Abelard's intellect or his moral character. When the savage vengeance which the uncle of Heloise had inflicted on him for his behaviour towards his niece had reduced Abelard to the same state to which the great Origen voluntarily brought himself, he persuaded Heloise to become a nun in the convent of Argenteuil, while he became a monk in the great abbey of St. Denis (1119).

Heloise has to leave Argenteuil.

It was not long before the amiability and intellectual capacity of Heloise caused her to attain the highest position in her convent. But all did not go well at Argenteuil. Whether too much of the relations of the new prioress with Abelard both in the convent[3] and out of it,[4] before she became a professed religious, was known to the nuns to prevent their having due respect for her authority, or whether they were lacking in discipline before she joined them, certain it is that the irregularities of her convent became notorious.

[1] Rémusat, p. 12. [2] *Cf.* Turner, *History of Philosophy*, p. 285 ff.

[3] Rémusat, p. 65 f.

[4] With an indelicacy of feeling that could only have belonged to a libertine, Abelard had not merely composed amatory lays in the vulgar tongue about his beloved, but "Chose plus singulière! il laissait ses chansons d'amour se répandre au dehors et courir la ville et le pays; longtemps après cette époque, elles se retrouvaient encore dans la bouche de ceux dont la situation ressemblait à la sienne." *Ib.*, p. 54 f. *Cf.* p. 142 f. Rémusat would seem to wish to throw a glamour over the conduct of Abelard by proceeding to observe that there was in him something of the insolence found in natures born to command and to reign. It is perhaps truer to say that there was much more in him, at one time at least, of the coarseness that belongs to the lascivious.

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In perusing the documents which showed the rights of the abbey of St. Denis, the great abbot Suger had discovered that Argenteuil really belonged to his monastery. Promptly taking advantage of the ill-repute of its nuns, he put forward his claim to it. One of the ubiquitous papal legates whom Rome's zeal for reform had spread over Europe[1] was soon upon the spot. An inquiry was held, and Matthew, "by divine grace bishop of Albano and legate of the Apostolic See," proclaimed (1129) that an investigation held before the king and a large number of bishops had revealed the fact that gross irregularities were practised at the convent, and that in consequence the nuns must be dispersed to different religious houses, and their convent restored to the monastery of St. Denis, "which we have found to be flooded with the light of monastic virtue."[2] This decision of the cardinal of Albano was shortly afterwards (April 23, 1129) duly confirmed by Pope Honorius, because, as he said, the bonds of unity were best preserved when that which had been carefully done by the members of the Church was confirmed by its head. But in his confirmatory bull which he addressed to Suger, he was careful twice to insist that his sanction of the cardinal's decision was only granted on condition that the abbot took the greatest care to place the nuns in suitable convents, "so that not one of them should perish through his fault."[3]

Heloise and the "Paraclete."

Abelard now came to the help of the expelled Heloise, and gave her and the few nuns who remained attached to her a small oratory which he had built (1121) on the banks of the Ardusson, in the diocese of Troyes near Nogent-sur-Seine, and which he had called the Paraclete (1129). Further, as nothing had been proved against Heloise, who

[1] *Cf.* epp. Hon., 136, 137, 150, 152, 160, 162, 168, 175, 195, 223, etc.
[2] Ep. 180, inter epp. Hon. [3] Ep. 190.

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seems to have been as true to her vows as she had been formerly true to Abelard, she herself induced Innocent II., whom the schism of Anacletus had driven into France, to take her house under his protection, and to confirm its property.[1] "At last," says Rémusat with justice, "Abelard for once did no evil to the object of his love."

Condemnation of the doctrine of Abelard by St. Bernard and Innocent II.

As the name of Innocent II. has just been brought into touch with the work of Abelard, it may be well to narrate here what remains to be told of the latter's relations with the See of Rome.

When, by taking the habit of a monk, Abelard proclaimed to the world his conversion to God, the thought of his sins and the calamities they had brought upon him did not, unfortunately, work in him the change that similar reflection wrought in St. Augustine. That sound interpreter of our duties to our Creator laid it down that when God has been forsaken by sin, "it must be by a humble piety that we must return to Thee, and then Thou cleansest us of our evil customs, and showest mercy to them that confess their sins, and hearest the groans of them that are fettered, and loosest those bands which we have made to ourselves, provided that we now no longer advance against Thee the horns of a false liberty by the covetousness of having more, and so incur the loss of all, by loving more a private good of our own than Thee, the universal good of all."[2] Abelard for a long time, at least, thought not of returning to God by the way of humility, nor did he learn to keep in

[1] In token of the papal protection the nuns had to pay "sex nummi" every year to the Lateran Palace. Jaffe, 7513 (5386). The bull is dated November 28, 1131. *Cf.* ep. i. c. 13 Abælardi, and see Rémusat, p. 125 f.; Combes, *L'abbé Suger*, p. 74 f.; and Suger himself in his *Vita Ludovici*, vi. c. 27, and *De administratione sua*, c. 3. In these places Suger calls Honorius "vir gravis et severus," and "vir consilii et justitiæ tutor."

[2] *Confessions*, c. 8.

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check his desire to fathom the supernatural mysteries of faith with the plummet of human reason. He ceased not, moreover, to be intolerant of the opinions of others when they opposed his own; he remained as impatient of authority as ever; and he encouraged "a false liberty" both in himself and others.

Though, when at Cluny, he repudiated his errors in general terms, never did he become humble enough and wise enough to write a book of "retractations." After many of his teachings had been condemned by the Church, he simply declared "that they were in essential harmony with the Catholic faith; and while he is careful in his *Apologia* to emphasise his convictions of that faith, he does not retract[1] his previous words, but attributes many things said against him to malice or ignorance, and asks only that whatever in his writings may appear of doubtful meaning shall be interpreted in the spirit of charity."[2]

It is not to be wondered at, after the scandalous life which Abelard had led, that many should think that to seek retirement would become him better than to court publicity. Nor is it anything but natural that many whose characters, if not perfect, had never been as bad as his, should take it amiss that he should set himself up to criticise their conduct; nor again is it strange that, when

[1] He does, however, acknowledge in his *Apology* that he had written "some things which he ought not by error," and adds that if some expressions had escaped him which were to be regretted, he was always prepared "to correct, or altogether retract what he had spoken ill," and, finally, that he was a son of the Church and "received what she receives, and rejected what she rejects." Eales, i. p. 50, in his preface to his translation of St. Bernard's works. *Cf.* Ratisbonne, *St. Bernard*, p. 271, and Vacandard, ii. 175. Dr. Storrs, then, in this point does not do full justice to Abelard.

[2] Storrs, *Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 498. The chapter (vii.) from which these words are quoted is excellent. While justice is done to Abelard, the superiority of St. Bernard in his intentions, in his motives, and in his deeds is admirably brought out.

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his disciples gave utterance to new and strange theories regarding the faith, the orthodoxy of their master should be closely scrutinised. Another circumstance which rendered the novel utterances of Abelard all the more suspicious was his connection with Arnold of Brescia. Relying on the words of St. Bernard, who calls that revolutionary Abelard's "shield-bearer,"[1] some suppose that Arnold's encouragement rendered the restless professor still less heedful of authority. At any rate, whether rendered more audacious by Arnold or not, Abelard's disposition was constantly putting him in opposition to the men and things he found around him, and his high opinion of his own powers was always driving him to say rather what seemed acute and original than what was in accepted accordance with revealed and acknowledged truth.

At length a number of his errors, or, at least, a number of his propositions which by a natural and fair interpretation were erroneous, were brought directly to the notice of St. Bernard by William, abbot of St. Thierry. "Peter Abelard," he wrote,[2] "is again teaching and publishing novelties; his books cross the seas, pass the Alps; new speculations concerning the doctrine of the faith, and new dogmas are spread throughout provinces and realms, are openly preached and freely defended; it is even said that they have partisans in the Curia of Rome" (*c.* an. 1139). He set forth some thirteen erroneous propositions, chiefly with regard to the Blessed Trinity, which he had culled from the writings of Abelard.

[1] Ep. 189. Abelard is Goliath, "tall of stature," and Arnold is his armour-bearer. *Cf.* ep. 195. "When anathematised by Peter the Apostle, he joined himself to Peter Abelard, and with him and for him he endeavoured to defend vigorously and stubbornly all his errors, which had been already exposed and condemned by the Church." *Cf.* ep. 130.

[2] Ep. 136, inter epp. S. Bern.

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St. Bernard was thoroughly aroused, and with his accustomed vigour denounced the innovator, in the first instance, to Pope Innocent (1140). "Master Peter and Arnold, of whose evil influence you have cleared Italy," he wrote to the Pope, "have stood up against the Lord. . . . To describe this theologian in few words, he distinguishes with Arius degrees and inequalities in the Trinity; with Pelagius he prefers free-will to grace; and with Nestorius he divides Christ in excluding His humanity from union with the Trinity."[1] He next wrote, sometimes in language that was unjustifiably violent, to various cardinals and abbots,[2] to inform them that "the life, the character, and the books already published of Peter Abelard show him to be a persecutor of the Catholic faith."

St. Bernard denounces Abelard, 1140.

Everywhere men began to talk of the "errors" of Abelard. Realising that he must take some decisive step if he would avoid a second condemnation, Abelard challenged St. Bernard to a discussion on his teaching before a great assembly of bishops and others which was to meet at Sens. The adverse decision already passed against him at the council of Soissons (1121) had not affected him very much, as he had contrived to make it appear that envy had been the cause of his condemnation.[3]

At first St. Bernard was unwilling to face such a master of fence as Abelard, but when it was pointed out to the saint that, if he failed to meet his adversary, "unthinking

The council of Sens, June 2, 1140.

[1] Ep. 330. *Cf.* also the letter of Hugh Metellus to the Pope, ep. 4, ap. Hugo, *Sacræ antiq. Mon.*, ii. 330, ap. Vacandard, ii. 143 f.

[2] Ep. 331. *Cf.* epp. 187–193, and epp. 332–336, 338. With the exception of ep. 193, Vacandard (*St. Bernard*, ii. 160 n.) supposes that all these letters were written after the council of Sens.

[3] *Cf.* Abelard, ep. 1, seu *Hist. calamit.*, c. 10 ff., ap. *P. L.*, t. 178. "Singuli qui interfuerant (at Soissons) a se culpam repellentes in alios transfundebant . . . et legatus coram omnibus invidiam Francorum super hoc maxime detestaretur." *Cf.* Hefele, *Conc.*, vii. 161 ff., Fr. ed.

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persons, as well as his partisans of error, would regard all the opinions, or rather all the fancies of their master as being more important than they really were,"[1] he boldly presented himself before the assembly.

This meeting of Abelard and St. Bernard ranks among the most memorable that history has recorded. The quickest-witted, if not the most intelligent man of his age, was faced by one who was perhaps the holiest man of his age. The excitement of the great multitude which gazed upon these two great masters in Israel must have been intense. The disciples of Abelard and those who wished for innovation believed that their tall and eloquent champion was invincible. Had he not silenced everyone who had stood up against him, even his professors? The followers of St. Bernard and the lovers of the Catholic faith believed that, as God was with the great abbot, no one could prevail against him.

At once taking the offensive, the saint pointed out to the king, and to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and nobles who were present, what he contended were the heretical propositions contained in Abelard's *Theologia*. But to the intense surprise of the whole audience, when, with all his wonted eloquence, St. Bernard closed his indictment of Abelard's teachings, "Master Peter," wrote the bishops to the Pope Innocent, "appeared to be at a loss what to do, and in order to make a way of escape, refused to reply, although he had a free hearing given to him, a safe place, and impartial judges; but appealing to your hearing in person, most Holy Father, he left the assembly with all his supporters. Although," continued the bishops, "that appeal seemed to us not canonical, yet out of respect to the Apostolic See, we abstained from pronouncing any judgment against him personally." However, they call

[1] Ep. 337. Bernard speaking in the name of the bishops of France.

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on the Pope to do so, and to confirm their condemnation of his doctrines.[1]

Pope Innocent condemns Abelard, 1140.

Whether Abelard had or had not followers among the cardinals, a storm of strong letters from St. Bernard to different members of the curia swept away all the support in which he trusted,[2] and the Pope issued two letters to the archbishop of Sens, St. Bernard, and others, condemning the innovator. Acting on the letters of the council, and guided by examination "of the heads of the errors" of Abelard which had been sent him, and by "the common advice of our brethren, the bishops and cardinals," Innocent "condemned, with their author, all the perverse doctrines" of Peter Abelard. He "imposed perpetual silence upon him as a heretic," and decreed that excommunication should be inflicted on his followers (July 16).[3] He also, rather hastily, it would seem, as far as the professor was concerned, ordered them to imprison Abelard and Arnold in separate religious houses and to burn their books.[4]

Abelard, however, on his way to Rome to appeal to the Pope, found an asylum at Cluny. By the advice of its abbot, Peter the Venerable, he remained there, and became reconciled with St. Bernard[5] and the Pope; for, as he said in his *Apology* addressed to Heloise, "I have no wish to be even a second Aristotle, if I am to be separated from

[1] Ep. 337. *Cf.* ep. 138.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 280.

[3] Ep. 447, ap. *P. L.*, t. 179.

[4] Ep. 448, *ib.* Yet Innocent was not ill-disposed towards him. *Cf.* ep. 1, c. 15, Abælardi.

[5] Rémusat, i. 252. See epp. iv. 4 and 21 of Peter the Venerable, ap. *P. L.*, t. 189. Questioned by the abbot of Cluny as to where he was going, Abelard had replied to him: "Gravatum se vexationibus quorumdam qui sibi, quod valde abhorrebat, nomen hæretici imponebant, majestatem apostolicam se appellasse, et ad eam confugere velle respondit. Laudavimus propositum, et ut ad notum et commune refugium confugeret, admonuimus. Justitiam apostolicam, quæ nulli unquam etiam extraneo vel peregrino defuit, sibi non defuturam diximus." Ep. iv. 4, to Pope Innocent.

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Jesus Christ." After about two years spent in that famous abbey in hard work and humble submission, "showing," says the chronicle of Cluny, "something divine in his spirit, his words, and his actions," he died in 1142. Before the close of the year the sympathetic abbot conveyed the remains of his former religious to the Paraclete, and heard from Heloise the simple words, "You have given us the body of our master." [1]

[1] Rémusat, i. p. 260. *Cf.* Ratisbonne, *St. Bernard*, chaps. xxviii., xxix.

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CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND, SPAIN, AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

IN the early months of his pontificate (April 5, 1125), Honorius wrote to Thurstan, archbishop of York, to tell him that, as he loved him, he wished the question of the primacy to be settled before him personally.[1] However, seeing that questions of jurisdiction between Canterbury and Wales, and between York and Scotland and Norway had also to be settled, he ratified the orders previously given by Calixtus II., and instructed his legate, Cardinal John of Crema, then in Normandy, to proceed to England.[2] At the same time, he wrote to the clergy and laity of England, charging them to receive John as the vicar of St. Peter. He reminded them that, as our Lord had committed the sheep and the lambs of his flock to St. Peter, "not one of the lambs belonging to the fellowship of Christ is excluded as not belonging to the pastorate of Peter. Besides this, the authority of our most holy father, Pope Gregory, and the mission of St. Augustine show that the kingdom of England belongs in a special manner to Blessed Peter and the Roman Church."[3] The dispute between York and Canterbury, 1125.

After having been kept a long time in Normandy by King Henry, the legate at length "received permission to cross into England, and was reverentially welcomed by the churches."[4] However much tyrannical kings and ambitious prelates might dread the arrival of a papal The council of Roxburgh, 1125.

[1] Ep. 56. *Cf. supra*, 192 ff.
[2] Ep. 59, April 13.
[3] Ep. 60. Stevenson's translation.
[4] Simeon of Durham, *Hist.*, an. 1125; *A.-Sax. Chron.*, 1125.

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legate, the rank and file of the clergy and the people at large were glad to see in their midst the representative of the great spiritual power which exercised so wholesome a restraining influence on the arbitrary tyranny of the powerful. Hence our national chronicle is at pains to tell us that John of Crema was "everywhere received with worship (*mid wardscipe*)." Visiting the different bishoprics and abbeys on his way, and receiving everywhere the greatest honour and splendid presents, John proceeded in the first instance to Scotland. The object of his mission was set forth in a letter of Honorius, which he presented to King David.[1] The monarch is asked to cause the bishops of Scotland to assemble in council when summoned by the legate, and is informed that, while the council is to discuss the question of the jurisdiction of the archbishop of York over them, "the final sentence is reserved to the Apostolic See." The bishops, accordingly, duly met at Roxburgh in response to the legate's summons,[2] but what took place at their synod is not known. Certain it is that many of the Scottish bishops continued to reject the claims of York; and at length, in 1188, Clement III. declared the Scottish Church to be immediately dependent on the Apostolic See.[3]

Meanwhile, however, the archbishops of York did not cease to strive to maintain their jurisdiction over the bishops of Scotland. With this end in view, Thurstan made great efforts to secure the support of Honorius.

[1] Ep. 61.

[2] "As long as Scotland was without a metropolitan, provincial councils could be summoned only by the Pope or his legates; and accordingly we find that both the councils held in the twelfth century . . . were convoked and presided over by papal legates." Bellesheim, *Hist. of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, i. 295 f.

[3] "Præsentis scripti pagina duximus statuendum, ut Scotticana Ecclesia Apostolicæ Sedi, . . . nullo mediante, subjaceat." The bull *Cum universi*, ap. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. pt. i. p. 273.

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When, about the close of the year 1125, he had gone to Rome along with William, archbishop of Canterbury, in order to treat before the Pope of the respective rights of York and Canterbury, he asserted his claims to ecclesiastical authority over Scotland before John, bishop of Glasgow. But the whole affair was one of politics. Both parties seem to have allowed that spiritual jurisdiction was to be determined by temporal conditions. The Scotch bishops held that Scotland was not feudally dependent upon England, and endeavoured to get the bishop of St. Andrews made their metropolitan; whereas Thurstan urged that their kingdom was subject to England, and that the king of the Scots was the liegeman (*ligium hominem*) of the king of England.[1] Both Honorius II. and Innocent II. strove with only partial success to make the Scotch bishops obey Thurstan.[2] Some of them, as for instance the bishops of Galloway (Whitherne), fulfilled the papal mandates, but John of Glasgow never submitted, and his successors were the first of the Scottish bishops who obtained from Rome a grant of independence from the jurisdiction of York.[3] In this matter of spiritual authority of a bishop of one nationality over the bishops of another, racial and political prejudices were too strong for the Popes. They found themselves in most cases ultimately compelled to modify the ecclesiastical situation in accordance with the political.

For some time, however, the archbishops of York kept their spiritual control over certain places which were in the

[1] Hugh the Chantor, p. 214, ap. Raine, *Historians of York*, ii. (R. S.), and Stubbs, *Acta Pontif. Ebor.*, ap. Twysden, p. 1719. Hugh calls Honorius (*ib.*, p. 209) "Clericus sapiens et justus homo."

[2] See their letters ap. Haddan and Stubbs, *ib.*, p. 24 ff., *e.g.*, one of Innocent II. (April 22, 1136) to William, archbishop of Canterbury and legate of the Apostolic See, ordering him to compel John of Glasgow to obey Thurstan. *Cf.* Raine, *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, i. 196 ff.

[3] See the letters of Alexander III., ap. Haddan and Stubbs, p. 37 ff and 245 ff.

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power of the kings of Norway,[1] or of their sub-kings. Thus letters are extant in which Olaf, king of Man (1103–1153), calls on Thurstan of York to consecrate one Nicholas bishop of the Isles,[2] and in 1151 and 1154 Thurstan's successors are found consecrating bishops of Man and the Isles.[3] But after the visit to Norway of the English cardinal Nicholas Breakspear (afterwards Hadrian IV.) in 1148, Eugenius III. and Anastasius IV. definitely made the sees of the Orkneys and of Man and the Isles subject to the See of Nidaros (Drontheim or Trondhjem).[4]

Canterbury and Wales.

Similar efforts to those which the archbishops of York were making to maintain their jurisdiction over bishoprics not included in the realm of England were also being made by the archbishops of Canterbury. William of Malmesbury categorically asserts[5] that the archbishop of York had subject to him all the bishops on the farther side of the Humber, and all the bishops of Scotland and the Orkneys, and the archbishop of Canterbury those of Ireland and Wales. But as the Scotch contested the claims of York, the Welsh contested those of Canterbury. However, the Welsh were gradually subdued by the arms of the Norman kings, and at length lost both their political and ecclesiastical autonomy. The first quarter of the twelfth century saw Norman nominees and Normans appointed to Welsh bishoprics, and the last quarter of the same century witnessed the complete subjection of the

[1] *Cf.* ep. 74 of Honorius, in support of the authority of York, to Sigurd Jorsalfarer, king of Norway. *Cf.* ep. 75 (December 1125).

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. pt. i. p. 218 f. [3] *Ib.*, p. 228.

[4] See the bull of Anastasius IV. (1154), ap. *ib.*, p. 229 f. It is addressed to John "Trwdensi Archiepiscopo," and subjects to him, among other places, "insulas Orcades, insulas Suthraie, insulas Islandensium et Grenelandiæ episcopatus."

[5] *De gest. reg.*, l. iii. *sub fin.*

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Welsh Church to that of Canterbury. It did not, however, submit without a struggle. The See of St. David's endeavoured, but in vain, to induce first Honorius II. and then Innocent II. to grant it metropolitan authority;[1] and the people sometimes succeeded in preventing those Normans who had been appointed to sees in Wales from actually holding them. It would also seem that they occasionally contrived to worry such bishops as had been imposed upon them whom they could not dispossess. But the strong arm of the Norman kings at length beat down all resistance.

Urban of Llandaff.

The first bishop in Wales who was appointed by the Normans (1107) was Urban, who became the ruler of the diocese of Llandaff. It was not long before he became well known at the court of Rome during the reigns of both Honorius II. and Innocent II. Perhaps because he was not a Norman,[2] the neighbouring Norman bishops of St. David's[3] and Hereford would appear to have usurped part of his diocese. At any rate he appealed to Rome against them in connection with the boundaries of his see (1119). "The Church of God and ours which is subject to God and to you," he wrote to Pope Calixtus,[4] "sends this letter to your mercy." But though he appealed to Calixtus, to Honorius, and to Innocent in turn; though he made two journeys to Rome[5] (1128–1129), and received many privileges for his see, and many letters of encouragement and support from each of these Popes, the affair was not settled when

[1] Giraldus Camb., *De Invect.*, ii. 7 and 10, ap. Haddan, *ib.*, i. pp. 317, 344.

[2] In his letter to Pope Calixtus (see below) he speaks of his church (fere) "annichilata indigenarum crudelitate, et inuasione superuenientis gentis Normannicæ."

[3] Bernard; he was the first Norman bishop in Wales (1115).

[4] Ap. Haddan, *ib.*, i. 309.

[5] *Cf. Lib. Landavensis*, p. 52; ed. Evans, Oxford, 1893.

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he died, during his third journey to Rome in order to get it decided (1133). The contention, says William of Malmesbury, "after being agitated by so many appeals to the court of Rome, by so many expensive journeys, by so many debates of lawyers for a number of years, was at last terminated, or rather cut short, by the death of Urban."[1]

Council of Westminster, Sept. 1125.

Before the papal legate, John of Crema, left England, he presided over a council held at Westminster. Both Thurstan of York and William of Corbeil, archbishop of Canterbury, were present at the synod, along with twenty bishops, some forty abbots, and "a countless multitude of clergy and people." The assembled Fathers passed seventeen canons of discipline forbidding simony in any form, usury, pluralities in the Church, and the marriage of the clergy or of those related even to the seventh degree.[2]

[1] *Hist. Nov.*, i. 7. *Cf.* Henry of Huntingdon, *Chron.*, vii., an. 1134. Some three dozen documents, mostly papal letters, concerning Urban of Llandaff's appeal may be read ap. Haddan and Stubbs, *l.c.* *Cf.* Newell, *A Hist. of the Welsh Church*, pp. 179–184; London, 1895.

[2] Simeon of Durham, *Hist.*, an. 1126; *A.-Sax. Chron.*, 1125. Henry of Huntingdon, a contemporary, *l.c.*, an. 1125, says that the legate who so bitterly denounced clerical incontinency was at the very time himself found guilty of a breach of celibacy. But it must be remembered that Huntingdon, who seems to have been the only contemporary to tell this story, was himself the son of a married priest, and elsewhere shows animus in the matter of enforced clerical celibacy. (*Cf.* Forester in his preface, p. viii, to his translation of Huntingdon.) Further, what he proceeds to say about the cardinal's return homewards "in confusion and dishonour" is contradicted by the *A.-Sax. Chron.* and Simeon of Durham. Both these authorities tell of John's return in company with the two English archbishops and others. Hence Huntingdon's account is discredited not merely by Lingard, but even by Bower, *History of the Popes*, vol. vi. p. 30. Gervase, a monk of Canterbury, who died after July 1205, and was not a contemporary of the council of Westminster, pretends that the whole nation was indignant at seeing one who was only a priest occupying a higher place at the synod than the archbishop of Canterbury. But, as Stevenson notes in his preface to his translation of Gervase, the monk "everywhere judges of men and incidents from a monastic point of view" (p. xi). This standpoint of Gervase is very noticeable in this instance. He speaks as no con-

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Settlement of the dispute between York and Canterbury, 1126.

The council did not touch upon the dispute between Thurstan and William of Corbeil; but after it was over, John summoned the two archbishops to accompany him to Rome, in order that the question of the primacy might be discussed in the Pope's presence.[1] Along with the legate and the archbishops there went also Alexander, the munificent bishop of Lincoln;[2] John, bishop of Lothian; and Gaufridus, abbot of St. Albans.[3] "They were received by Pope Honorius with great honour, and they remained in Rome all that winter (1125–1126)."[4] The issue of the dispute between the archbishops was that "William returned in the character of the Pope's legate for England, but Thurstan exactly as he had set out."[5] Despite Honorius's predilection for Thurstan, he evidently could not see his way to allow his complete independence of Canter-

temporary speaks, and he states partly what is certainly not in accordance with fact, and partly what, it would appear, is founded only on his heated imagination. He is the authority cited by Stephens, *The English Church*, 1066-1272, p. 141.

[1] Simeon and the *A.-Sax. Chron.*, *l.c.* "Johannem Romam revertentem comitantur *ab ipso evocati* Turstinus Eboracensis . . . et Willielmus Cantuariensis, de suis causis in Apostolica audientia acturi," says Simeon. They did not travel most of the way all together. The legate, who was accompanied by Thurstan throughout the entire journey, travelled by unfrequented routes on account of the great treasure he had with him; and Hugh the Chantor gives a very doleful account of the troubles in which the treasure and the route involved them.

[2] On January 10, 1126, Honorius issued a bull in which "the Holy Roman Church, founded on the faith of Peter, and holding the rule (*principatum*) of all the churches," took the Church of Lincoln under its special protection. Ep. 88.

[3] Simeon and the *Chron.* This is what Stephens (*l.c.*, p. 142), speaking of the legate, calls "sneaking quietly and speedily out of the kingdom."

[4] *Ib.* The Pope had instructed them to appear before him on Candlemas Day. *Cf.* Hugh the Chantor, *l.c.*, p. 210.

[5] Simeon. According to the Chantor (*l.c.*, p. 214), this arrangement was made with Thurstan's consent.

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bury; but to lessen the pain his refusal must cost his friend, he put the superiority of Canterbury on another level. William of Corbeil was henceforth Thurstan's superior, not as archbishop of Canterbury, but as papal legate for England and Scotland.[1] In order to show this, he forbade the archbishop of Canterbury to exact any profession of obedience from the archbishop of York, and ordained that, for purposes of honorary distinction, that prelate should be regarded as the first who had been first consecrated.[2] Finally, he enjoined both King Henry and the archbishop of Canterbury to permit Thurstan, in accordance with ancient custom, to have his cross carried before him, and, as usual, to take his share in crowning the king.[3]

SPAIN.

Diego Gelmirez.

The most striking figure in Spain at this period, if not in the political, at least in the ecclesiastical world, was Diego Gelmirez, the archbishop of Compostela. The one object of this able and ambitious but unscrupulous prelate was to enhance the importance of his see. He had succeeded in obtaining the pallium from Pascal II. (1104),

[1] See the continuation of Florence of Worcester by John of Worcester (an. 1125). "Cui apostolicus vices suas in Anglia et Scottia commisit, et apostolicæ sedis legatum constituit." As "John was certainly at Worcester in the year 1132," it will be seen that he was, strictly speaking, a contemporary with the events he narrates. *Cf.* the new ed. of John by Weaver, Oxford, 1908. The papal bull proclaiming William's position to the bishops and clergy of England was not published till January 25, 1127. "Cum igitur vos, tanquam unicos et speciales b. Petri filios fore cognoscimus . . . Guillelmo Cant. in Anglia et Scotia vices nostras commisimus. . . . Quapropter universitati vestræ mandando præcipimus, ut ei sicut legato nostro humiliter obedire." Ep. 122.

[2] Ep. 121 (January 1127), addressed to Thurstan.

[3] Ep. 140, December 9, 1127. This bull was sent because these rights had been denied to Thurstan. *Cf.* John of Worcester, c. 17 *ubi supra.*

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and although that Pontiff decided that the Spanish primacy was to be attached as of old to the See of Toledo, he left Merida and Braga under the jurisdiction of Diego as legate of the Apostolic See for those provinces (March 27, 1120). But the ambition of Diego was not sated; he would be legate of all Spain. Honorius, however, did not look upon Diego with the same friendly eyes as Calixtus. Gossip had long been proclaiming in Rome that Diego wished to make his "apostolic see" the equal of that of Rome.[1] Though the Popes could afford to smile at such wild ambition, even if it existed in fact, the persistence[2] of such stories about the Spanish prelate was enough to make them slow to help the See of Compostela still further up the ecclesiastical ladder. The successors of Calixtus did not renew his commission as legate.

Diego's envoys in Rome.

Honorius, whom Diego, through his panegyrists, cannot refrain from describing as a man of remarkable industry and great probity,[3] took care to inform the archbishop that he had heard many stories of his ambitious designs; but he assured him that he trusted him, and exhorted him to a humble performance of his duty.[4] With a view to obliterating the unfavourable impression of him evidently entertained by Honorius, and in the hope of being made by him "legate of all Spain," Diego sent envoys to Rome with a large "benediction." According to Diego, for the words of the *Historia Compostellana* are his words, this "benediction" consisted of three hundred *Almorabitini*; and of these two hundred and twenty were given to the Pope. The remaining eighty were used "in pacifying the curia."

[1] *Hist. Compost.*, ii. 1, 3.

[2] *Ib.* ii. 83. *Cf.* iii. 10. "Apud quem (Honorius) æmuli et detractores, invidia atque malivolentia ducti, Dñm Compostellanum graviter accusaverunt, eum in suis indumentis, et oblationibus peregrinorum recipiendis Apostolico more uti imprudenter," etc.

[3] *Ib.*, iii. 13.

[4] *Ib.*, ii. 83, 84.

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Honorius, however, was not to be won over by any of the arts of Diego, but diplomatically replied that, while he might be glad at some future time to make him legate of Spain, he could not do so at present, as he had already dispatched Cardinal Hubert in that capacity to Spain.[1]

Honorius gives some support to Diego.

However, Honorius hearkened to one of the requests of Diego. On the death of Gonzalo II., bishop of Coimbra, in the province of Merida, the archbishop of Braga, in contempt of the canons and of the privilege of the Roman Church, presumed to consecrate his successor, though the See of Coimbra was subject to that of Compostela.[2] Of this usurpation Diego had loudly complained, and Honorius wrote a curt letter to the offending archbishop. He told him that it had been the good pleasure of the Roman Pontiff to honour Diego and to make him the metropolitan of the province of Merida. Despite this, the archbishop (Payo Mendes) had presumed, so it appeared, to consecrate one of the suffragans of that province. He must present himself before the Pope on the second Sunday after Easter (1129) to answer for his conduct.[3]

The Council of Carrion, Feb. 4, 1130.

When Cardinal Hubert arrived in Spain, he arranged with Alfonso VII. of Leon and Castile, el Emperador, to hold a council at Carrion. To this council Diego was duly summoned both by the king and the legate, because, says Diego, "they knew that if he were absent their council would not be able to effect anything."[4] Though not well, the archbishop decided to present himself at the council, "not so much on account of the invitation of the king and the cardinal," as for the good of the Church. Again, according to Diego's panegyrists, the reception

[1] *Hist. Compost.*, iii. 10. "Multum sibi perplacere Dñm Compostellanum Hispaniæ legationem habere, sed id ad præsentiarum fieri non posse," etc.

[2] *Ib.*, iii. 4. [3] *Ib.*, iii. 5. [4] *Ib.*, iii. 14.

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given to their hero by the king was most splendid, and "by the concession of the king and the Roman cardinal" the entire conduct of the council was put in his hands. The principal work of the assembly seems to have been "the just and reasonable deposition of the bishops."[1] If Diego had no further relations with Honorius, neither his stormy career nor his intercourse with Rome was yet over. After what seems to have been a careful inquiry into the facts of the case, he acknowledged Innocent II., and not Anacletus, as the lawful successor of Honorius.[2] Some years later, after making his see outshine, "as the moon outshines the stars," all the other sees, with the exception of Rome, "which is the mistress of the whole Church on earth," the machinations of his enemies, or the natural consequences of his vaulting ambition, nearly brought about Diego's deposition by a cardinal-legate, and his death at the hands of an angry mob (1136).[3] But "the head of Spain," as Diego calls himself,[4] never lived to see himself recognised as such. He closed his vigorous life in 1139.

A Norman knight and Tarragona.

Like all the Pontiffs of this age, Honorius was ever ready to promote any enterprise against the infidels. This anxiety brought him in touch with the north-east of Spain. Raymond-Berenger III., count of Barcelona (1096–1131), recovered the ancient city of Tarragona from the Moors, and, with the consent of Pope Gelasius II.,[5] made Oldegaire, bishop of Barcelona, the new archbishop of Tarragona. At the same time, he made him the temporal

[1] *Hist. Compost.*, iii. c. 15. [2] *Ib.*, c. 21 ff. [3] *Ib.*, cc. 46, 47 ff.

[4] *Ib.*, c. 57, the last. On Diego see also Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, i. 211 f.

[5] See his bull of March 21, 1118. "So also," says Oldegaire himself, "the Roman Popes, Gelasius and Calixtus . . . in conferring upon us, in their goodness, the metropolitan dignity, have further, in their bulls, confirmed the said grant of the count, *i.e.*, of the city of Tarragona. *Cf.* the deed of Oldegaire in the *Acta SS.*, March, i. 590, cited in Forester's trans. of Ordericus.

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ruler of the newly recovered city. It was, however, in a sorry condition, its cathedral church being "overgrown with oaks, beeches, and other tall trees which had sprung up in it."[1] The archbishop manfully set to work to restore the city, but he was hampered by the Moors and his own age. He accordingly "looked about him for a man of deep experience, in whom he might provide a protector for the church, and a lord for the city, who would defend the one and the other . . . as if they were his own." He found such a man in the land where at that time so many bold adventurers were to be found, viz., in the land of Normandy. Robert de Culie, surnamed Burdet, was the man of Oldegaire's choice, and he duly named him "prince of the city," that he might "there always serve God and His Church and bear arms in defence of Christianity" (1128). After Robert had duly sworn to be the liegeman of Oldegaire, he betook himself to Pope Honorius, and "received from the Pope's gift the county of Tarragona, to hold free from all secular exactions. On his return," continues Ordericus Vitalis, whom we are here quoting,[2] "he gathered a band of his own countrymen, and has held it, and resisted the pagans to the present day."

In the days of which we are writing, it would seem that no important transaction was valid, or at least likely to be deemed finally concluded, unless it received the sanction of the Roman Pontiff, the universal referee of Christendom. If this was true of other Christian countries, it was particularly true of Spain, which, as we have seen, was claimed by the Popes as subject to themselves in an especial manner.

[1] Ord. Vitalis, *H. E.*, xiii. 5.

[2] *H. E.*, *l.c.* The city of Tarragona had been specially subjected to the Holy See by the count of Barcelona in 1090. See the charter of donation in Villanuño, *Summa concil. Hispan.*, i. 440 f. On Oldegaire, see *Hist. Eccles. de España*, by De la Fuente, iv. p. 93 ff.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE EAST. DEATH AND BURIAL OF POPE HONORIUS II.

The Templars.

FROM the close of the eleventh century the chief cities of Palestine had been in the hands of the Crusaders, but their control over the intervening country was but feeble. Predatory bands of Arabs rendered the roads from the coast to Jerusalem most unsafe, and many an unfortunate pilgrim from the West lost his money or his life, or both, almost within sight of the Holy City itself. Filled with concern at this state of things, Hugh de Payns and eight other knights bound themselves by vow to devote their lives to protecting the pilgrim and the traveller in the Holy Land (1119). To quote the words of a quasi-contemporary, writing about the year 1162: "There arose in Jerusalem a new kind of soldiery, founded by a nobleman Hugh de Payns. They lived like monks, took a vow of chastity, observed discipline both at home and in the field, ate their meals in silence, and had all things in common. They bear arms only against the heathen, and have spread widely. Many say that but for these men the Franks would long since have lost Jerusalem and Palestine. They are called 'soldiers of the Temple' because they have fixed their centre in the portico of Solomon."[1] What the Templars called the Temple of Solomon was the long basilica of St. Mary built by the Emperor Justinian on the south wall of Mount Moriah,[2]

[1] Richard of Poitiers (sometimes called Richard of Cluny), *Chron.*, p. 80, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. *Cf.* William of Tyre, *Hist.*, xii. 7, and Walter Map, *De nugis curialum*, Dis. i. c. 18, written 1181, ed. Camden Soc., 1850.

[2] After the Saracens had taken Jerusalem they converted it into the mosque El-Acsa.

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but not connected with Abd-el-Melek's Chapel of the Rock,[1] which was erected on the site of Solomon's Temple.

To obtain recruits and papal sanction for their new Order, some of the knights came to Europe.[2] In 1128 they appeared before the council of Troyes (January 13), at which, among many others, the papal legate Matthew, bishop of Albano, and St. Bernard were present. The council expressed its approval of the new Order, and commissioned St. Bernard to draw up a rule for it.[3] In accordance with their new constitution, the Templars added to their vow of fighting for the Christian cause in Palestine the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. As a distinctive mark of their Order, they were to wear a white cloak, to which a red cross was afterwards added by Eugenius III.[4] To ensure that the rule should be authoritative and at the same time practical, it was to be submitted to the Pope, to Stephen, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and to the chapter of the Order.[5] What exactly it was that the Pope approved we

[1] *Cf.* Conder, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 105, 106. It is generally called the mosque of Omar.

[2] The letter which some suppose they brought from King Baldwin II. to St. Bernard, asking him to draw up a rule for the Templars, only exists in the form of a Portuguese translation, and is probably spurious. Ep. 77, Hon. *Cf.* Vacandard, *St. Bernard*, i. 237 n.

[3] *Cf.* the prologue to the "Rule of the poor Fellow-soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon," *i.e.*, ep. 78, Hon. The saint never lost his interest in the Templars, and we find him (ep. 392) begging Ralph, patriarch of Antioch, to favour "those soldiers of God who dwell in the temple of Jerusalem." The "regula pauperum commilitonum Christi," just referred to, which is divided into seventy-two articles, contains later additions. It is impossible to say how much of it is due to St. Bernard.

[4] William of Tyre, *l.c.*

[5] After the council had heard what Hugh had to say, "quod nobis videbatur absurdum, omneque quod in præsenti concilio nequivit esse nobis memorabiliter relatum ac computatum, non levitate sed consulte providentiæ et discretioni ven. Patris nostri Honorii ac inclyti patriarchæ Hierosolymitani Stephani, fertilitate ac necessitate non

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have no means of knowing, as no bull of his bearing on the matter is extant. However, when once his approval was given, the future of the Order was assured, and by the favour of priest and people its knights soon became numerous, wealthy, and powerful. "The memory of these holy warriors is embalmed in all our recollections of the wars of the cross; they were the bulwarks of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem during the short period of its existence, and were the last band of Europe's host that contended for the possession of Palestine."[1] Mr. Addison only spoke the truth when he called them holy; for such they were on their first institution, and such for the most part they remained. They formed a company whose object was not to fight for honour or glory, but for Christ.[2] The eulogy pronounced upon them by St. Bernard was well merited, and if, with the fate of all things human, the lapse of time found them after two hundred years of existence not so good as they were when they were first enrolled, their Order, as a whole, was incorrupt when it was suppressed. But, as has so often happened, to the shame of mankind, the knights who had done so much for a great cause "encountered the basest ingratitude in return for the services they had rendered to the Christian faith, and were plundered, persecuted, and condemned to a cruel death by those who ought in justice to have been their defenders and supporters."[3]

ignari orientalis religionis (probably regionis), necnon pauperum commilitonum Christi consilio communis capituli, unanimiter commendavimus." The prologue, *ubi supra*, or ap. Labbe, *Concil.*, x. 923.

[1] Addison, *The History of the Knights Templars*, p. vii.; London, 1842.

[2] The knights were exhorted to leave "militiam sæcularem, in qua Christus non fuit causa." The prologue.

[3] Addison, *ib.* St. Bernard, in his *Liber de laude novæ militiæ*, writes: "Utrisque nimirum munitus armis, nec dæmonem timet, nec hominem. . . . Securi igitur procedite milites, et intrepido animo inimicos crucis Christi propellite, certi quia neque mors, neque vita poterunt vos separare a caritate Dei." C. 1, ap. Opera., i. p. 459.

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The Order of the Templars became the model of many similar bodies; and it is one of the glories of Honorius II. that his name will be for ever linked with as heroic, if withal as strange, a body of men as have ever existed.

Baldwin II.

The other relations of Honorius with the East may be summed up shortly. As suzerain of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, he confirmed the bull of Pope Paschal and ratified the election of Baldwin II., the first royal patron of the Templars, as its sovereign.[1]

Bernard of Antioch.

Like all the Popes, he strove to preserve harmony among the various Western rulers in the East. One of the chief causes of the weakness of the kingdom of Jerusalem was the natural but unfortunate rivalry of the different nations which had contributed to its formation, combined with the grasping for power on the part of its new ecclesiastical and civil rulers. In the sphere of spiritual jurisdiction, trouble soon arose between the new Latin patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem. Paschal II., without taking into consideration the ancient boundaries between the patriarchates, had decided that all the territory temporally subject to the king of Jerusalem should be ecclesiastically subject to the patriarch of Jerusalem (1111).[2] Two years later, he is said[3] to have fixed the river Eleutherus (Nahr-el-Kebir, great river), nearly midway between Antaradus (Tortosa) and Tripoli, as the boundary between the newly revived patriarchates. Though he weakly endeavoured to render his decisions more acceptable to Bernard of Antioch by asking the king of Jerusalem not to tamper with the

[1] Ep. 164. "Regnum Jerosolymitanum cum dignitate . . . a papa Paschali antecessori tuo . . . concessa, apostolica tibi auctoritate concedimus." He commended to him Fulk V. of Anjou, who had left all "to serve God and you." *Cf. supra*, p. 275.

[2] Jaffé, 6297, 6298.

[3] Conder, *Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 192, quoting Röhricht's *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, Nos. 60, 61, 72, 73 (1893).

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boundaries of the ancient Church of Antioch in his wish to favour his own patriarch,[1] still Bernard never succeeded in obtaining jurisdiction over much of the territory ruled over by his predecessors before the coming of the Saracen.

The archbishopric of Tyre.

Ill-feeling, however, remained between the two patriarchs, and manifested itself over the new archbishopric of Tyre. That important place fell into the hands of the Crusaders in 1124, and Guarimund, patriarch of Jerusalem, consecrated as its new archbishop William I., an Englishman (1128).[2] He was accepted by Honorius, to whom he betook himself, and received the pallium from him against the will of Guarimund.[3] Now possessed of metropolitical powers, William wished to obtain jurisdiction over the suffragans, thirteen to fifteen in number, who used to be subject to the See of Tyre. Bernard, however, having lost his rights over Tyre itself, had no mind to lose his control over all the bishops who used to be subject to that see. He accordingly refused to give up his claims to several of them. When William went to Rome, he laid the question before Honorius, who sent back to Palestine with him, as his legate, Giles, cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, "a man," says the historian-archbishop of Tyre, "both eloquent and literary, whose famous letters to the people of Antioch are still extant."[4] But neither the Pope's legate nor his letter

[1] Jaffé, 6343, 6344, an. 1113. *Cf.* William of Tyre, xi. 28, where we see that in letters to Bernard, he pleaded ignorance of the localities owing to their distance, and to the changes of names, and somewhat enigmatically concluded: "Non enim volumus aut pro principum potentia, ecclesiasticum minui dignitatem; aut pro ecclesiastica dignitate principum potentiam mutilari."

[2] Not the historian.

[3] Epp. 165, 166, July 1128. William of Tyre, xiii. 23, says: "Invito et renitente eodem suo consecratore, Roma profectus est." Guarimund, of course, wished to have direct control over all the bishops under him.

[4] *Ib.* Liverani, ep. 168, Honor., publishes one of these letters, but seems to imply that it contains the fragment of a letter quoted by *Tyre* at the close of xiii. 23. *Tyre's* fragment, however, is not found in the

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were destined to be altogether successful. Cardinal Giles reminded Bernard that, in defiance of the oath he had taken to the contrary, he had set at naught both "the letters of the Father of all Christians and his legates." He had "contemned the Roman dominion with disdain," though at his consecration before the sepulchre of the Lord he had promised obedience to the Pope, and had received the pallium from Maurice, (cardinal) bishop of Porto. He would seem to have forgotten the fact that Peter received his name from Christ from a rock, and that on his body at Rome the whole Church rested.[1] Reminding the patriarch that Antioch had been snatched from the very jaws of the infidel by the Roman Church, who was daily sending out her sons to guard it, he exhorted the patriarch to humble submission. He must be careful lest the Church of the East be ruined by internal dissension, and lose the assistance of the western Church. The Pope's letter to Bernard threatened to suspend the suffragans of Tyre if they did not submit to their archbishop within forty days after they had received the letters he had sent them.

Antioch resists the Pope's decrees.

Bernard, however, and his successors contrived to evade the papal mandates, and though the Popes succeeded in maintaining the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem over the archbishop of Tyre, the patriarchs of Antioch retained their hold of those bishoprics north of Beyrout which used to be subject to the archbishop of Tyre.[2] Even the patriarch of Jerusalem possessed himself of some of his suffragans, so that, wrote Tyre's archiepiscopal

document quoted by Liverani, but is an extract from one of the letters from Honorius himself to Bernard, of which Cardinal Giles was the bearer.

[1] "Ignoras Petrum a petra Christo denominatum, super cujus corpus Romæ tota consistit ecclesia." Ep. 168.

[2] William of Tyre, xiv. 10–14, where a number of the letters of Innocent II. are quoted.

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The Turris Chartularia.
(As it appeared in the beginning of the seventeenth century.)

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historian humorously, if somewhat petulantly, the two patriarchs "have sated themselves with my belongings, and it only remains to hope that they will make them vomit them up again." He concludes by assigning the cause of the troubles of his see to the Roman Church, which ordered the archbishops of Tyre to be subject to the Church of Jerusalem, and then suffered them to be robbed by the Church of Antioch.[1] Such petty and self-seeking prelates deserved to lose all in their unceasing efforts to grasp for more. If they had only been content loyally to abide by the reasonable decisions of the Popes, or to have put off contending for their respective rights till the conquest of the country had been definitely effected, they would have done something to assure the success of the Crusades. But the rivalries of the great churchmen and nobles which no Pope nor king could quell were almost as fatal to the continued existence of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem as the arms of Saladin himself.

The death of Honorius II.

Honorius passed the last year of his life in suffering, and when he felt that the end was drawing nigh, he took the advice of his most trusted counsellors, and caused himself to be conveyed to the monastery of SS. Andrew and Gregory on the Celian.[2] This he did to be near the Turris Cartularia and the centre of the power of the Frangipani, because the openly ambitious aims of Cardinal Pierleone had already given symptoms of causing trouble at the ensuing papal election.[3] As a matter of fact, the conduct

[1] *Ib.*, c. 14. "Satiantur de nostris carnibus, quibus utinam aliquando id contingat ad vomitum!" On this subject of the rights of Tyre, see also Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, i. 237 f.

[2] *L. P.*

[3] The well-informed *Hist. Mauriniac.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi. p. 39, speaks of this cardinal: "qui seculariter ad papatum videbatur aspirare." *Cf.* the letter of Hubert, bishop of Lucca, and epp. 5 and 6 of Innocent II., to be quoted in the biography of Innocent.

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of the cardinal's party even before Honorius died showed how he was going to act.[1] Hearing some report that the Pope was dead, Pierleone's adherents rushed tumultuously to the monastery with the evident intention of forcing the election of their chief. They were only induced to disperse when the dying Pope showed himself at a window in full pontifical state, surrounded by his relations, friends, and attendants.[2]

When, about sunset on Friday, February 14, 1130, Honorius really did die,[3] the cardinals who had been with him, in view of the disturbed state of the city, closed the monastery gates and refused admission to anyone. On the following day, if we are to accept the statements made by the party of Pierleone, the body of Honorius was temporarily interred in the cloister of the monastery. Then the cardinals in the enclosure elected Gregory as Innocent II., and the body of Honorius was transferred to the Lateran for more formal burial. About the same time Innocent went to take possession of the basilica, so that "the dead and the living entered the basilica at the same time."[4] The corpse of the late Pope was laid to rest in the south transept next to the body of Calixtus II.,[5] to

[1] Fuller details of Pierleone's doings will be given in the following biography.

[2] "Honorius, quem credebant jam mortuum, se ad fenestram populo ostendisset, cum fratrum et propinquorum, ac muneribus et obsequiis conductorum turba ministrorum," etc. The letter of Hubert of Lucca to St. Norbert, ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 40.

[3] Here the letter of Hubert ("Honorius in VI. feria de initio Quadragesimæ") is in accord with the letter of the party of Pierleone to Diego of Compostela. "Obeunte itaque Papa VI. feria post datos Cineres," ap. *Hist. Compost.*, iii. 23, ap. Florez, *España Sag.*, xx. Several necrologies also give "XVI. Kal. Mart." (February 14) as the day of the Pope's death, ap. Jaffé, i. p. 839.

[4] The letter of Pierleone's party just cited.

[5] *De eccles. Lat.*, c. 8, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78 or 194. *Cf.* Boso, *in vit. Hon.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii.

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whom in life Honorius, according to Peter the Venerable,[1] had been in no way inferior.

The position of Honorius and the Roman Church in the eyes of the Catholic world.

He was in truth a worthy successor of St. Gregory VII. and of his distinguished successors, to whom the greatest men of their time offered not simply the scant homage of bare duty, but the full homage of reverence and love. Adalbert, archbishop of Mainz, is credited with loving the Holy See beyond gold and the topaz;[2] Geoffrey of Vendôme rejoices in the Lord that he has suffered for the good of the Roman Church;[3] and Otho, bishop of Bamberg, lays it down that no one must cross the limits which have been set by the authority of Rome, whose decisions must be accepted under pain of heresy.[4] And although, among others, so great a bishop as Hildebert of Le Mans found it necessary to complain of the abuse of appeals to Rome, he proclaimed, as we have already seen, that a light offence becomes serious if it is the Church of Rome that is offended, and that he would not undertake to defend anyone at the expense of St. Peter.[5]

[1] *De mirac.*, ii. 13, ap. *P. L.*, t. 189.

[2] "Novit terra et omne imperium devotionem fidelissimam et amorem quem habetis ergo R. ecclesiam, et quia illam super aurum et topazion . . . dilexistis, pro cujus defensione . . . adversa sustinuistis." Ep. of Abbot Laurence, inter epp. Hon., 53.

[3] Ep. 14, ap. *P. L.*, t. 157, p. 55. [4] Ep. 128, inter epp. Hon.

[5] Ep. ii. 32, ap. *P. L.*, t. 171. "Nec nos ita Martinum venerari quærimus, ut Petrum conculcemus."

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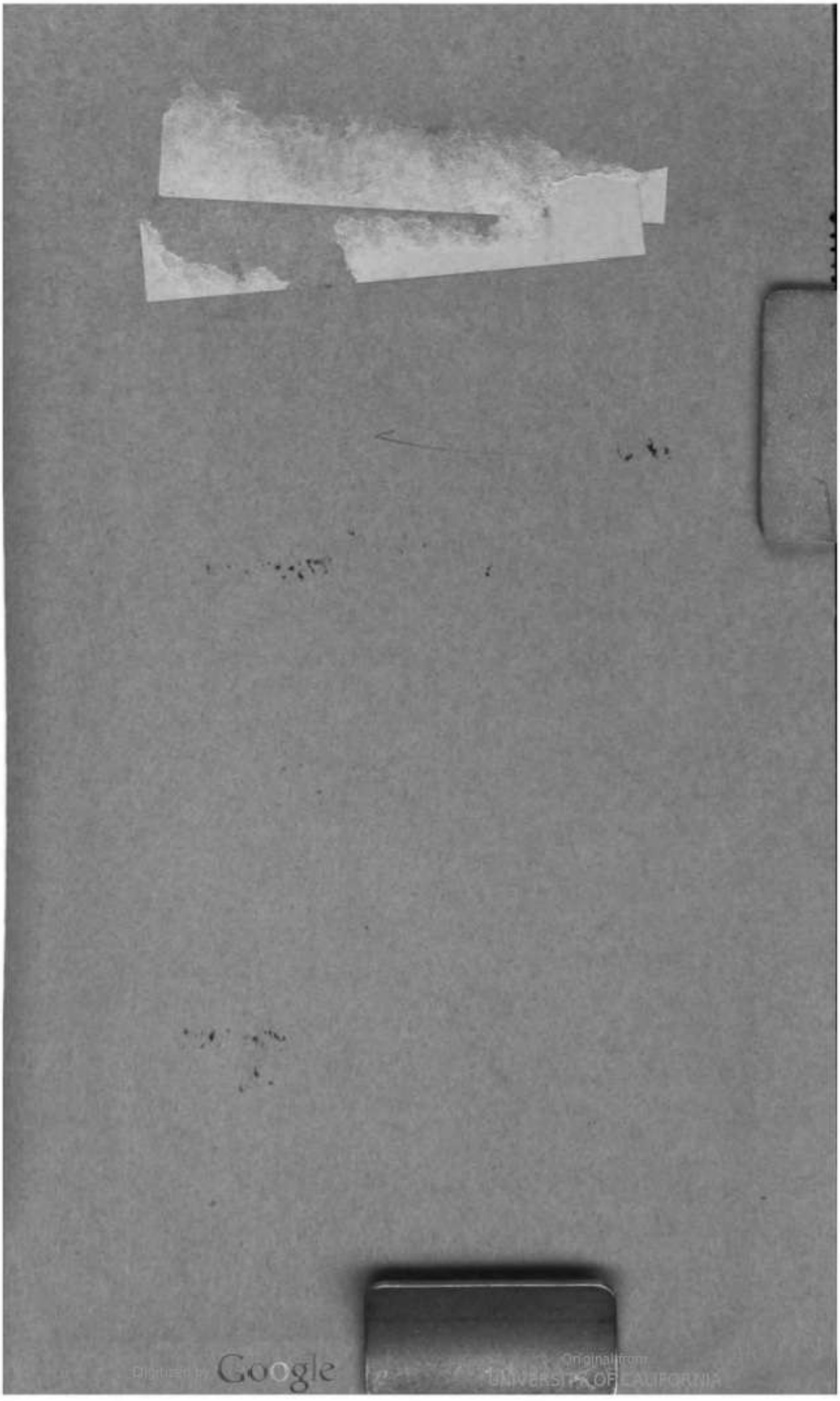
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